THE RAUZAT-US-SAFA

OR

GARDEN OF PURITY

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CONTAINING

The Life of Muhammad the Apostle of Allah

BY

MUHAMMAD BIN KHÂVENDSHÂH BIN MAHMÛD

COMMONLY CALLED MIRKHOND

PART II.

VOLUME SECOND

Translated from the Original Persian

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IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI

2009 QASIMJAN ST

DELHI (INDIA)

IAD RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHY (REPRINT) SERIES NO. 32

First Published 1893

Reprint 1982

Price Rs. 110

PRINTED IN INDIA

PUBLISHED BY MOHAMMAD AHMAD FOR IDARAH-I ADBIYAT-I DELLI, 2009, QASIMJAN ST., DELHI-6 AND PRINTED AT JAYYED PRESS, BALLIMARAN, DELHI-6.

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"Omm A'mmárah, this man has wounded thy son."' Nasybah says: 'I struck the leg of that infidel with my sabre so that he fell, whereat the apostle of Allah laughed so heartily that his teeth became visible. He said: "Thou hast had thy revenge," and after the idolater had departed to the regions of hell, he exclaimed: "Thanks be to God, who has caused thee to vanquish thy foe!"' It is related of the above-mentioned A'bdullah that he said: 'At the time when my mother was fighting around his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—she received a blow which made her blood flow abundantly. Therefore his lordship shouted to me: "Aid thy mother!" He also said: "May God bless you! You are of my family. Verily thou art better than such and such a one of my family. May God have mercy on thee!" (Let it not remain hidden that Nasybah had A'bdullah by Zayd B. A'assum, who had been her husband before A'dhar.) My mother said: "O apostle of God, pray that in paradise I may be one of thy companions." Accordingly his lordship raised his blessed hands in supplication, and uttered the words: "O God, make them my companions in paradise." My mother said: "After that I cared for no calamity which might befall me."'

It is said that Nasybah was present also in the battle of Yamámah, and it is recorded of her that she said: 'On the day of Yamámah I came to the battle-field with the intention to fight. My son was also present with me, and when the army of Moseylámah the liar was put to flight by the army of Islám, and had taken refuge in the "garden of death," which had before been called the "garden of the merciful," the Musalmâns pursued them, and a fearful struggle took place at the door of the garden, where Abu Dujjánah the Anssári attained martyrdom. At last, however, the banner of Khâled B. Alwolyd, who was the commander of the army, had been uplifted, and the professors of Islám threw themselves into the garden. I joined those happy warriors, and united with them in searching for Moseylâmah, but suddenly one of these miserable fellows

struck me with his sword, which severed my hand from my body. I swear by God that I returned to the battle in spite of that wound, and saw him killed after a short while, my son A'bdullah standing near his head, and cleaning his sabre from his blood. On that occasion I offered my prostrations of thankfulness to God, and engaged in curing my wounds.' Some historians narrate that during the Khalifate of Fârûq a fine robe was brought into the assembly, and that those who were present said: 'O Amir, give this robe to Ssafyah, the spouse of thy son, for she is a new bride.' O'mar replied: 'I shall send this dress to one who deserves it more than any other lady.' Then he despatched the garment to Omm A'mmârah, and said to the company present in that assembly: 'On the day of Ohod, when the army of Islâm had been dispersed, his holy and prophetic lordship had been slightly wounded, but Satan exclaimed: "Muhammad has been killed!" Therefore the Musalmâns were confused, and ran helter-skelter to Madinah, where the same news had spread, and the people, being terrified, were inclined to commit suicide. Some, however, went to Ohod, and the first man who recognised his lordship on the way was Ka'b B. Mâlek, who relates this interview as follows: "The eyes of his lordship were shining like stars, and I exclaimed: 'O ye Anssâr! this is the apostle of God sound and safe.' But the prophet beckoned to me to be silent."' Wâqidi relates that the prophet had put his cuirass on Ka'b, and that of Ka'b on himself. Ka'b fought valiantly, and received seventeen wounds.

When the companions knew that the apostle was alive they gathered around him from all sides. He proceeded to the pass of Ohod, and wished them to go to the mountain. A big stone was, however, in the way, to which he was unable to climb on account of fatigue. Accordingly Ttolhah sat down, and his lordship, placing his blessed foot on his back, stepped up to the rock, and said that Ttolhah had a claim to paradise.

When the battle-field had been abandoned by the warriors of the age in conformity with the saying,

Distich: When the valiant lion leaves the desert,
Then the jackal becomes alert,

Hind with all the women of the advocates of hostility entered among the slain Musalmâns, and excepting only Hanttalah—the death of which happy individual has already been recorded above—they ripped open the abdomen of every one of the killed, took out the liver, and having cut off the ears and noses of the martyrs, they made of them necklaces and bracelets for themselves. When the opponents were about to return to Mekkah, they wished to ascertain whether the prince of existences was among the living or the dead. Abu Sofyân approached the mountain, and shouted: 'Is Muhammad among you?' But by order of the prince of the favourites [of God] his companions gave no reply. He again exclaimed: 'Is the son of Abu Kohâfah [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] among the people?' This time they also remained silent, and when he asked the third time for O'mar, he likewise heard no answer, turned to his co-religionists, and said: 'All those whose names I called out have been killed, because had they been alive they would have answered.' At these words O'mar lost his patience, and exclaimed: 'O enemy of God, thou hast lied! Those whom thou wouldst not have to live are still alive.' After that Abu Sofyân commenced to praise his idol, saying: 'Hobal is the highest.' And by order of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—the people replied: 'Allah is the highest and the most glorious.' Abu Sofyân continued: 'Honour we have, and you have none.' The companions answered by the command of his lordship: 'God is our Lord, and not yours.' Abu Sofyân said: 'One day for another, and battles are judicial decrees'—meaning that this day was a requital for the fight at Bedr, and that wars are prophecies, inclining the victory sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other. He also said: 'Your slain combatants have been dishonoured; not by my orders, but I am not angry at that. The next meeting between you

and us will be at Bedr during the coming year.' The companions replied by command of the prophet: 'Let it be so.' After that Abu Sofyân returned disappointed and hopeless to Mekkah with the army of aberration. His lordship, however, and his companions were apprehensive lest the idolaters might go to Madinah and plunder it. Therefore his lordship the apostle of men and demons ordered A'li *Abu-r-ryhân*[288] Bin Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—to follow them, and to bring correct information. On that occasion he uttered with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: 'If they are riding camels and leading their horses they are going to Mekkah, but if they are mounted on their horses and leading their camels they are marching to Madinah; and if they are going there I shall forestall and punish them.' A'li acted as he was bid, and brought the news that the idolaters were going to Mekkah.

It is related that when the rumour that the apostle had been killed spread in Madinah, Fattimah Zohra—u. w. b.—and a number of the ladies of the family hastily proceeded to the battle-field. When the apple of the eye of the Musttafa—u. w. b.—saw her father with his teeth broken, wounded, and suffering, she wept. She embraced his lordship the apostle, who was also much affected. A'li B. Abu Tâleb brought a jug of water, wherewith Fattimah washed off the blood from the face of that prince. It is said that although Fattimah tried much to stanch the blood of the apostle's wound, she was unable to succeed, until at last she found a piece of matting, burnt it, and stopped the blood by spreading the ashes of it over the spot.

It is related that when the idolaters returned to Mekkah, the Musalmâns went in search of the wounded and killed. On that occasion his holy and prophetic lordship asked: 'What is the matter with Hamzah, that I do not see him?' Accordingly A'li—u. w. b.—went to look for him, and when he discovered his mutilated corpse he wept. He im-

[288] *I.e.*, 'Father of the two aromatic flowers,' meaning Hasan and Husayn.

mediately returned and informed the apostle, who accompanied him in his own august person, and when he saw that Hamzah's ears and nose had been cut off, he became very sad and melancholy, and swore on oath that if he obtained an opportunity he would disembowel seventy of the polytheists. Then Jebrâil descended, bringing the verse: 'If you have been punished, then punish them as you have been punished; but if you are patient it will be better.' Accordingly the apostle said, 'I shall be patient,' and gave up his intention.

Some writers of biographies and of the sayings of the prophet relate that his lordship prayed over the corpse of Hamzah, and that every martyr brought was placed near the latter and prayed over, so that seventy prayers were recited over Hamzah. All the U'lâma who have written histories on biographies agree that the martyrs were not washed, but interred in their blood-sprinkled garments. His lordship also ordered every corpse to be buried where it was found, so that any person who had carried away a dead body was obliged to bring it back. All those, however, whom the prophet loved were buried together in one grave. During the latter part of the day his lordship marched back to Madinah, and the men, together with the women of every tribe they passed through, rendered thanks for the safety of his holy and prophetic essence—u. w. b.—saying: 'Any calamity besides that of losing thee is trifling and easy to bear.' They spoke thus, although most of them were in affliction and mourning. When the apostle arrived at Madinah, he heard sounds of lamentation—uttered by women—issuing from the majority of the Anssâr habitations; but hearing no voice issuing from Hamzah's house, he asked: 'Has Hamzah no women here to bemoan him?' When Sa'd B. Ma'adh and Asyd B. Khadzyr, with all the Anssâr, heard these words, they said to their women: 'Go first to Hamzah's house and weep for him. Then return to your own domiciles and cry for your own relatives.' Accordingly the Anssâr women went between evening and bedtime to the house of the apostle's uncle and lamented

nearly till midnight. Then his lordship awoke from his sleep, and asked: 'What noise is this?' But being informed of the true state of the case, he said: 'May God reward you, your children, and your children's children!'

Ghazwah of Hamrâ Alasad.

When the idolaters returned from Ohod, they repented having done so, saying to each other: 'What have we done? We have collected an army, we have taken trouble, we have killed some nobles and friends of Muhammad, but we have stopped short, and have not utterly annihilated him with his companions. Now we must return and do so, trying to extirpate them so as to free our minds from any further apprehensions about these fellows.' A'kramah B. Abu Jahl insisted on this point most of all, and Ssafuwân B. Ommyah said: 'The calamity which befell Muhammad and his companions has greatly depressed their spirits, and so incensed them against us that if we return again, very likely the tribes Awus and Khazraj, which have lagged behind, will this time assemble and have a share in the battle, so that our enemies may possibly after having been conquered become our conquerors, and thus the tables would be turned against us.'

When the news that the opponents intended to return had reached the exalted audition, the prince of the inhabitants of the world wished to throw fear and confusion into the hearts of the foes, and let them know that the professors of Islâm had not lost their courage. Therefore on the day after the battle of Ohod, which was a Sunday, he caused Belâl to shout the following notice: 'The apostle of God orders you to hasten and seek the enemy, but none are to sally forth on this business except those who were present on the battle-field of Ohod.' When the noble Mohâjer and the distinguished Anssâr heard the command of the apostle of God—u. w. b.—they girded up the loins of obedience, although they had received many wounds. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—

armed himself and took up his position on the road, thus waiting for the professors of Islam to gather around him, and concerning whom the verse was revealed: 'Those who obeyed God and the prophet after they had been delivered, those of them who acted well, shall have a great reward.' None of the combatants remained behind except Jâber B. A'bdullah, the Ansâri, who had a valid excuse. His lordship entrusted A'li—u. w. b.—with the flag [of command], but according to others Abu Bakr obtained it. Then he marched as far as Hamrâ Alasad, and ordered five hundred fires to be lighted in the camp. On that occasion Mo'abd Khozaa'y—who was a friend of his lordship, though he had at that time not yet made his profession of Islâm, his tribe having been allied to the prophet by oath and protected by him during the time of ignorance and of Islâm—was travelling to Mekkah, and, meeting with his lordship, after condoling with him about the companions who had been slain, he continued his journey and encountered Abu Sofyân with all the idolaters, who asked him what news he had about Muhammad. Mo'abd replied: 'Muhammad has marched out from Madinah with a great number of those who have fought at Ohod, and intends to take vengeance on you; I have left the army at Hamrâ Alasad.' The idolaters said: 'What words are these?' He continued: 'I swear by God that I am speaking the truth, and I think before you leave this place you will behold some of the cavalry of Islâm.' Saafuwân said: 'What we were apprehensive of has been fulfilled, and it will be proper for us to leave this place, lest we be conquered after having been the conquerors.' This information made also a great impression upon the other idolaters, so that they marched in haste towards Mekkah. Mo'abd hereon immediately despatched a courier to his lordship to let him know what was going on. It is related that on the above occasion Abu Sofyân perceived a company travelling to Mekkah, and requested them to convey the news of his approach to his lordship the best of men. Accordingly when they arrived at Hamrâ Alasad they delivered their message, but the Musalmâns replied:

'We trust in God, and a good advocate is He!' It is said that at Hamrâ Alasad the Musalmâns took two men prisoners, one of whom was Abu U'zza the poet, who had been captured [already] at Bedr, but was liberated after paying ransom, and promising not to fight again against the Musalmâns. For having broken the just-mentioned promise and oath, his lordship ordered him to be killed in spite of all his entreaties, and said: 'No believer shall be stung twice from the same den.' And, turning to Abu U'zza, he said: 'Thou shalt not return to Mekkah! Stroke thy unhallowed beard, and exclaim: "I have played two or three tricks to Muhammad!"' Accordingly A'assum B. Thâbet despatched him with his sword by command of his lordship. The other prisoner was Moa'wiah B. Moghirah, for whom O'thmân interceded, and his lordship said: 'For thy sake I remit his punishment, on condition of his stopping not more than three days in Madinah; but if he exceeds that time it shall be lawful for anyone to shed his blood.' And by the decree of Divine providence that doomed individual did not leave Madinah, but concealed himself on the fourth day for fear of death. Then his lordship the apostle sent O'mmâr Yâser and Zayd B. Hâreth who pulled Moa'wiah B. Moghirah out from the corner of secrecy and took his life.

EVENTS OF THE FOURTH YEAR AFTER THE FLIGHT OF HIS LORDSHIP THE APOSTLE—U. W. B.[230]

Wâqidi relates that in the beginning of this year his lordship the apostle—t. b. of G. b. o. h. and o. h. f.—sent Abu Moslamah B. A'bdu-l-asad Makhzûmi with one hundred and fifty companions, among whom were also Abu O'baydah Jurrâh, and Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss and Asyd B. Khodzyr, to the country of the Bani Asad, the reason of which *Seriah* was as follows: It had reached the exalted audition that Ttolhah and Solmah, the sons of Asad, were instigating their followers to wage war against that prince, and that

[230] A. H. 4 began on the 13th June, 625 A.D.

they would possibly make a raid into the vicinity of Madinah. Therefore his lordship ordered Abu Moslamah to forestall and to plunder them in their own country. The just-named individual accordingly took Wolyd B. Zohayr Tây for his guide, and marched with him until they reached one of the settlements of the children of Esrâyl, all whose corn and quadrupeds they took, as well as some men, the remainder of whom fled to their people and informed them of the multitude and bravery of the professors of Islâm. They also warned Qays B. Hâreth and Ttolhah B. Howildar not to meet the Musalmâns. Accordingly all of them left their habitations, which the Musalmâns then entered and plundered. There is, however, [also] a tradition that the Bani Asad were drawn up in battle-array opposite to Moslamah, and that after Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss had sent one of the idolaters to the infernal regions he shouted to the army of Islâm: 'What are you waiting for?' and that accordingly Abu Moslamah with all the Musalmâns rushed upon the infidels, putting them to flight.

THE CALAMITY AT RAJYA'.

Rajya' is the name of a water, belonging to a settlement of the Hodhayl, near which a misfortune befell the professors of Islâm, in the following manner: When the idolaters returned from Ohod, Sofyân B. Khâled Hodhayli was going to Mekkah with a company of the A'dzal and Qârah. They were congratulating each other on the loss the Musalmâns had sustained, and conversing about Solâqah the daughter of Sa'd, the wife of Ttolhâh B. Abu Ttolhâh, who had been killed at Ohod, together with her sons. She had made a vow to give one hundred good camels to anyone who would bring her the head of A'assum B. Thâbet. This promise stimulated the covetousness of Sofyân B. Khâled, and he despatched seven wicked fellows of his tribe to Madinah, who waited on the lord of existences, made a [false] profession of Islâm, and represented to him that, a great many of their tribe having become

Musalmâns, it would be proper to send some companions to teach all the people the Qurân and so ennoble them, by making them acquainted with the ordinances of the law. Those hypocrites were lodging in the house of A'assum's father, cajoling him day and night to induce him to accompany them to their tribe. After several days had elapsed the apostle—u. w. b.—appointed ten of his companions—seven of whose names are in biographical works recorded as follows: A'assum B. Thâbet, Mazyd Abu Mazyd, Habyb B. A'dy, A'bdullah B. Târeq, Khâled B. Alkabyr, Ma'qob B. O'baydah and Zayd B. Wothnah, but as the names of the three remaining individuals cannot be found in any copy they are omitted in this place also. In short, the Musalmâns took their arms, started on their journey, concealing themselves during the day, and travelling in the night until they arrived near Hodhayl. In this place one of the seven hypocrites, who accompanied the ten Musalmâns, left them, joined the tribe and informed Sofyân B. Khâled of their arrival, and that wretched hypocrite immediately proceeded with two thousand armed men to the above locality. When those ten fortunate men were going up the mountain the idolaters arrived, and that rogue who had carried the news of the companions to Sofyân preceded and was advancing in front of the infidels. Then Khâled B. Alkabyr said to A'assum: 'Thy guests have deceived us.' The latter believed it and instigated the companions to attack the adherents of darkness. But when the opponents saw that the Musalmâns were ready to fight they advised them not to expose themselves to be killed, and said: 'Do not attempt to bring on thy destruction, and that of all thy companions, for we have given and do give you quarter.' But A'assum B. Thâbet, who had been appointed chief of his companions, was determined to attain martyrdom, and said: 'We are not afraid to be killed, because we are certain of our religion. I have sworn an oath not to accept quarter from any idolater, nor to shake hands with an infidel.' After uttering these words he began to shoot

his arrows, till he spent them all. Then he fought with his spear till it broke; he drew his sword, turned to the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'Great God, I have fought for Thy religion in the beginning of the day; protect it and the end of it from the wickedness of my enemies.' This prayer he uttered because he had heard that Solâqah, the wife of Abu Tholhah, had made a vow to drink wine from A'assum's skull, and when the latter actually attained martyrdom the idolaters meant to cut off the head of that blessed individual, to convey it to Solâqah, and to take the camels with all the property of those Musalmâns. But by a decree of Divine providence so many hornets gathered around the corpse of A'assum that whoever approached it was fearfully stung. Accordingly the idolaters said to each other: 'We must wait till the night sets in and the wasps depart.' But when it was night God the Most Magnificent and Glorious sent a torrent which floated away the body of A'assum, so that the idolaters were disappointed and saddened. And this is one of the most strange events. It is related that seven of the abovementioned ten individuals fought against the idolaters till they attained martyrdom, and that three of them, *i.e.*, Habyb B. A'dy and A'bdullah B. At-târeq and Zayd complied with their wishes and came down from the mountain; but the opponents broke their promise and tied their hands with bowstrings.

When Ebn Târeq beheld this treachery he managed in some way to disentangle his hands, to snatch up a sword, and to attack the enemies till he was at last sent by the stones of the infidels to the gardens of paradise. The idolaters carried Habyb and Zayd to Mekkah, and sold them to the Qoraish, who imprisoned them till the sacred months elapsed, and then crucified them both in a place called Tana'ym. On that occasion Habyb asked the idolaters for permission to allow him to perform his orisons with two prayer-flexions: permission having been granted, he terminated his devotions, but uttered also a malediction upon the idolaters who had assembled at the foot of the gallows,

which was afterwards fulfilled, and the majority of those present were shortly overtaken by a calamity. Habyb was suspended on the gallows in such a manner that his back was turned towards the Qiblah, whereon he exclaimed: 'It is no calamity to me to have my face turned away from the Ka'bah, since the Most High and Magnificent has said: "Wherever you turn, there is the face of God!"' Then they said: 'Renounce Islâm, and we shall let thee go.' After his firm refusal to comply, they asked: 'Wouldst thou like to see Muhammad in this place?' He replied: 'I should not like even a thorn to hurt the foot of Muhammad.' They continued: 'We swear by Lât and by U'zza that we shall kill thee unless thou renouncest the religion of Muhammad!' He rejoined: 'It is but a small thing to be killed for the cause of God!' and added: 'O God, I behold only enemies, and there is no friend to convey my greeting to Thy favourite.'

Zayd B. Aslam says: 'I was with a number of companions in the assembly of the prophet, when all of a sudden the signs of Divine revelation manifested themselves on the blessed countenance of his lordship, and after that he said: "The Qoraish have slain Habyb, and this is Jebrâil, who has come to bring me his greeting."'

When Habyb B. A'dy refused to apostatize from Islâm, one of the idolaters pierced him with a lance, so that it issued from his back, but he uttered the formula of monotheism and expired. It is said that he was the first individual who used to make two flexions at his prayers. When they brought Zayd to the foot of the gibbet he imitated the prayers of Habyb, and the idolaters used the same gibes also towards him which they had uttered to Habyb. Having received the same answer, they ordered the slave of Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, to kill him, which was done. It is related that when Habyb B. A'dy obtained martyrdom, he was left hanging on the gallows, so that the news spread among the tribes and reached also the prince of existences, who exclaimed: 'Will any one of you go and take down Habyb from the gallows, and thus obtain

the reward of paradise?' Accordingly Zobeyr B. Ala'wâm and Moqâd B. Aswad took this matter upon themselves, started on the journey, concealing themselves in the day, and travelling during the night, till they arrived one night in Tana'ym. There they beheld forty persons sleeping near the gibbet. They slowly took down Habyb, whose body they found to be still fresh after forty days, and on probing his wounds with their hands blood was yet flowing from them. Zobeyr then placed the corpse on his horse, whereon both friends started on their return journey. When it was day the Qoraish saw what had happened, and seventy of them sallied forth on horseback, in pursuit of the two fugitives, whom they overtook. Zobeyr, however, removed the body from the saddle and covered it with earth, wherefore those two blessed individuals were afterwards surnamed 'swallowed by the earth.' When the infidels were near, Zobeyr took off his turban, shouting out his name and genealogy, to show his readiness to fight. But as the idolaters perceived no utility in this contest they returned, and those two friends, traversing the distance, were exalted by being allowed to wait upon the prince of the righteous—u. w. b. It is said that when they arrived Jebrâil was present, and said to the prophet: 'O Muhammad, the angels are vying with these two companions of thine!'

A'bdullah B. Anys goes and kills Sofyân B. Khâled —the Curse of Allah be on him!

Sofyân B. Khâled Hodhayly had killed some companions, was trying to injure others, as has been related above, and was now engaged in gathering an army to attack the apostle of God. When a ray of this information had shone upon the forehead of the most enlightened mind, he appointed A'bdullah B. Anys to ward off the evil machinations of the wicked; but A'bdullah not being acquainted with Sofyân, he requested his lordship to describe him. The apostle explained with his wonderfully eloquent tongue his person and qualities, adding: 'Take

ire, lest thou be afraid when thou seest him, and that atan also be present at your meeting.' When A'bdullah eparted he asked leave to speak whatever he liked. eing dismissed, he took up his sword, and after traversing ie distance arrived in the Battin of Ghorânah, where he erceived a man walking with several others. A'bdullah ecame afraid of that man, recognised him by that token, nd said to himself, 'The apostle of God has spoken the ruth!' When Sofyân caught sight of A'bdullah he uestioned him, and he replied: 'I am of the Khozaa'y, nd I heard that thou art enlisting an army to fight luhammad. It is my intention to serve thee!' Sofyân eplied: 'Yes, such is the case!' Then A'bdullah ccompanied Sofyân, recited poetry, and flattered him, so hat the wretch felt amused, and when they arrived he ntered his tent. When the night set in the friends of ofyân dispersed, every one of them courting sleep in his orner. Then A'bdullah entered the tent, and severing, vith his sharp blade, the head of that tyrant from his ody, he departed [with it] to Madinah On the way he oncealed himself in a cave, and God ordered a spider to eave its net over the entrance thereof. When the people Sofyân learnt what had taken place, they hastened after 'bdullah, but were unable to find him, and returned isappointed. A'bdullah then left the cave, concealed imself during the day and travelled during the night, ntil he reached Madinah. There he found the prophet in ie mosque, and deposited Abu Sofyân's unhallowed head his blessed feet. His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.— nd his companions rejoiced at the murder of the enemy of od; but some biographers consider the just-narrated vent to have taken place in the third [year after the light].

BARA MOA'WIAH.

This misfortune took place as follows: Abu A'amer B. Malek, who was also surnamed *Mollâbu-l-alsanah*,[290] arrived

[290] 'Sport of the tongues.'

from the tribe of Najd in Madinah. When he entered the august assembly of his lordship the prophet, that prince invited him to make his profession of Islâm; but although he would not become a Musalmân, he did not altogether refuse to acquiesce therein, and said: 'O Muhammad, I know that thy religion is noble, and thy sect is the orthodox one. If thou wilt send a number of thy companions with me to invite the Bani A'amer to accept Islâm, perhaps the nation will enter the circle of obedience to thee.' His lordship rejoined: 'I do not trust the people of Najd!' Abu A'amer continued: 'Do not give way to misapprehensions, for I shall take them under my protection and not allow them to be hurt.' Then his lordship despatched seventy men, who were during the day engaged in drawing water and carrying wood, and during the night in prayer to [convert] the inhabitants of Najd. It is said that A'amer B. Khayrah and A'mru B. Ommyah Dhomayry were of the above number, over which his lordship appointed Mundhar B. A'mru Saa'dy as leader, and by whom he sent a letter to the Bani A'amer and grandees of Najd. When the Musalmâns arrived at Bara Moa'wiah they alighted, and gave their camels to A'mru Bin Ommyah to pasture them; the letter, however, they handed to Hazâm B. Marjân, to give to A'amer B. Ttofayl, who was the brother of *Mollâbu-l-alsanah's* mother. Hazâm took charge of the letter, gave it to him, but by a preconcerted signal from A'amer, attained the honour of martyrdom whilst engaged in conversation. A'amer had [before] applied for aid to the Bani A'amer in his war against Mundhar B. A'mru, but as they [now] knew that Abu A'amer had taken the Musalmâns under his protection, they did not comply with his request; notwithstanding this vile fellow gathered a number of the tribe of Salym and of O'ssyah, and of Dhakwân, and proceeded to Bara Moa'wiah. When the infidels arrived in that place they surrounded the professors of Islâm, and when the monotheists saw themselves swallowed up in the vortex of calamity, they said: 'We see no one who might bear our

salutation to Thy favourite.' In short, both parties fought in that soul-melting battle-field, and contended with each other till the companions of the apostle attained martyrdom. When A'mru B. Ommyah and Hâreth B. Qohayny were returning from the pasture, they perceived birds soaring over the camp and dust rising over it. Accordingly they both mounted to an elevation to see what had become of their friends, but when they ascertained what had taken place A'mru said: 'It will be best for us to return to Madinah, and to inform the apostle of this misfortune.' But Hâreth refused, went towards the infidels, fought, and sent two men of them to hell who had been aided by the idolaters. After these [idolaters] had spared his life, Hareth again commenced to fight, and slew two more men, till he at last also himself attained martyrdom. A amer B. Ttofayl loosed the bonds of A'mru B. Ommyah, and allowed him to depart to Madinah. When A'bu Bara became aware of his nephew's treachery, he was so grieved that he fell sick and departed to the next world. There is a tradition that when his lordship received the news of the slaughter of his companions he pronounced during the space of forty days maledictions in his morning prayers upon the men of those tribes which had aided A'amer B. Ttofayl, and also upon the latter, saying: 'God requite A'amer!' Accordingly that wretch was in the house of the woman Sahîlyah overtaken by a disease like the camel plague, so that he exclaimed in his affliction: 'I feel an odour like the odour of death in the house of Sahîlyah!' Thereon he called for his horse, mounted it, and departed to hell in that state of his unhallowed soul—the curse of Allah be upon him! It is related that when A'mru B. Ommyah Dhomayry was delivered of his bonds and proceeded to Madinah, he met on his way two idolaters of the Bani A'amer, who were under the protection of his lordship; but A'mru knew nothing thereof, and slew the two unlucky men while they were asleep. After traversing the distance he arrived in Madinah, entered the assembly of his holy and prophetic

lordship—u. w. b.—explained the manner in which the companions had been killed, and also how he had despatched those infidels; with the murder of these, however, his lordship was not pleased, and. blaming A'mru, compelled him to pay the blood-ransom to their heirs.

Ghazwah of the Bani An-natzyr.

When A'mru B. Ommyah had unwittingly killed those two individuals of the Bani A'amer, his lordship the apostle said: 'I must pay the ransom for them.' As the Bani An-natzyr were allies of the Bani A'amer, and had likewise made a treaty and covenant with his lordship, he assembled some of his companions, such as Abu Bakr, O'mar, Ali and Ttolhah. Then he proceeded to the habitations of the Bani An-natzyr to make arrangements concerning the ransom to be paid for the two slain men. When the apostle of Allah had arrived at the spot and explained the case, they replied: 'O father of Qâsim, we shall do as thou likest. Stop awhile that we may fulfil the duties of hospitality.' Therefore the apostle of God took up a position leaning with his back against the wall of a house, and his companions reposing opposite to that prince. On this occasion Ebn Akhttâb exclaimed: O ye Jews, such amity between you and Muhammad can never be established. The best is that a man throw a stone from this roof upon his head, that we may be freed of his importunity.' A'mru Hajash replied: 'I shall take that matter upon myself.' Sollâm B. Mashkam had, however, warned them not to do any such thing, because Muhammad, he said, would receive information from heaven, and the affair would cause the alliance between the nation and Muhammad to be cancelled; but the people would not listen, and at that very moment Jebrâil arrived and made his lordship aware of their treachery. Therefore the apostle rose and departed from the place, as if going to answer a call of nature, without informing his companions, and proceeded to Madinah; for he knew that as long as his sacred person was left untouched his friends

would likewise be left in safety. When the Jews became aware of his lordship's departure, Kanâz said: 'O people, do you know why Muhammad has left the assembly?' They replied: 'We know it not, and swear by God that thou likewise art not aware of the cause.' He retorted: 'By the truth of the Torah,[291] I know God; and the Most High has apprised Muhammad of your intention. Do not deceive yourselves. Muhammad is an apostle of God, and the seal of prophets—u. w. b. You thought the seal of prophets would be of the sons of Hârun, but the Lord and *Giver of all good gifts* bestoweth His favours upon whom He liketh, and has opened this portal of felicity to whomsoever was worthy thereof. Whatever we have read in the Torah about the qualities of that prophet coincides with those of Muhammad, without any increase or diminution. I fancy you will be ordered to emigrate, and will be unwilling to do so. Therefore your children will be dispersed, your habitations deserted, and your houses destroyed. It will then be expedient for you to make a profession of the religion of Muhammad to save your children and progeny from destruction.' They replied: 'We cannot abandon the Toratah and the religion of Mûsa.' He continued: 'My second proposition is that you obey the order to emigrate from this country as soon as you receive it, because then your lives and property will be spared.' The Jews replied: 'We shall wait, because it is easier for us to leave our country than to give up the religion of Mûsa—u. w. b.'

When his lordship the apostle had left his companions among the Bani An-natzyr and departed to Madinah, the companions were waiting a considerable time for him. After they were tired of waiting they arose, started, and when they arrived at Madinah they were allowed the honour of attending upon his lordship. On that occasion they said: 'O apostle of God, we did not know the reason of thy departing and not returning.' And he replied: 'The Jews meditated treachery, and God the Most High

[291] The Pentateuch.

informed me thereof.' After that he despatched Muhammad B. Moslamah with the following message to the Bani An-natzyr: 'As you have machinated evil against me, I order you to leave the country, giving you a respite of ten days for doing so, and whoever remains after the expiration of that time will have his head cut off by my orders.' The Jews thereon began to make preparations to emigrate, when all of a sudden an envoy from A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl arrived among them with this advice: 'Leave not your country, but strengthen your position in your forts and be of good cheer, for I shall with two thousand valiant and experienced warriors come to your aid. Nor will the Bani Qorittah Jews and their allies of the Bani Ghattfân refuse to assist you.' On account of these words Hay Bin Akhttâb sent the next day a man to wait upon his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—with the following reply: 'We shall not abandon our habitations: act thou as thou likest!' At the receipt of this news his lordship—u. w. b.—shouted the *Takbyr*, to which his companions responded. By order of the best of men — u. w. b.— the professors of Islâm then made preparations for the campaign. The lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—appointed Ebn Omm Maknûb to be his lieutenant in Madinah; and, having bestowed the victorious standard upon the conquering lion of God [*i.e.*, on A'li], they marched out of Madinah and held their next orisons in the plain of the Bani An-natzyr. When the Jews beheld the army of Islâm they took refuge in their forts, from the ramparts whereof they shot arrows and threw stones till the night set in. After the monotheists had held their dormitory orisons, and his lordship had, with ten of his companions, adjourned to his own quarters, all the companions, whose chief was A'li—u. w. b.—and, according to another tradition, Abu Bakr, were, till the morning, occupied in besieging the Jews and in shouting the *Takbyr*.

It is said that the tent of his lordship had been pitched in the plain of Hattmah, and that a Jewish archer, called Ghurûr, had struck it, for which occasion it was removed

to another spot. When the night had set in it was found that his lordship, A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—was absent from the camp. This circumstance having been reported to his lordship, he said: 'I fancy he has gone out on some business.' After awhile, however, the Lord A'li Murtadza —u. w. b.—again made his appearance, throwing the skull of Ghurûr at the feet of his lordship, and saying: 'O apostle of God, this is the head of that accursed fellow who has hit thy tent with an arrow.' His lordship enquired about the circumstances, whereon A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—continued: 'As I knew him to be a valiant man, I thought I might saily out during the night and capture him when he was off his guard. I accordingly placed myself in ambush, and suddenly beheld him coming out with a drawn sword and nine men. I attacked and beheaded him; and his friends are so near that if thou wilt send some men with me I hope I shall vanquish them.' His lordship thereon despatched Abu Dujjanah and Sahal B. Hanyf, with eight other brave men in the company of A'li the lion of attack, as also ten of the principal Anssar, in pursuit of the comrades of Ghurûr, whom they overtook at the gate of the fort, killed, and suspended the unhallowed skulls of the Jews from the house-doors of the Bhani Khutbah.

During the days of the siege, the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—ordered A'bdullah B. Sollâm and Abu Layly Mozany to discomfit the machinations of the Jews, and to uproot the tree of their hopes which they had planted in their impure minds. Therefore Abu Layly felled the most fruitful date-trees called A'jwah, and said: 'This will much sadden and distress the Jews.' Ebn Sollâm, however, felled the worst of the trees, saying: 'I know that soon all the property of the Jews will belong to the professors of Islâm, and I have therefore left the best trees for them.' With reference to this matter the blessed verse, 'What palm-trees ye cut down or left standing on their roots,' etc., [20] was revealed.

[20] Qurân, ch. lix. 5.

As A'bdullah Abu Monafiq had not kept his promise to aid the Bani An-natzyr, and as they had no assistance from any other quarter, they repented of what they had done, and sent a person to his lordship with the request to be left unmolested and to be allowed to emigrate. His lordship replied: 'I comply with your request only so far as to allow you to load upon your beasts whatever they can carry except arms, and to depart from my country.' In this manner some of the Jews went to Syria and others to Yemen, abandoning their fields and immovable property to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—in so plenary a manner that he did not separate one-fifth therefrom [in the usual way]. The arms of the Bani Natzyr amounted to fifty cuirasses, as many helmets, and three hundred sabres. which he distributed to whoever wanted any. As for the crops of those unfortunate people, the apostle kept as much of the provisions for his family as would suffice for one year, and abandoned the remainder to the professors of Islâm.

This year A'bdullah B. Othmán, who was of the tribe of the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—died, and Zaynab, the daughter of Khozaymah, as well as spouse of his lordship. also departed to the gardens of paradise, together with Abu Solmah B. A'bdullah Asad, who was the husband of Omm Solmah, and with Fattimah, the daughter of Asad, who was the mother of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b. In this year also his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—contracted a matrimonial alliance with Omm Solmah.

The Ghazwah of the Bedr of Promise, which is also called the Small Bedr.

It was noticed above that Abu Sofyán had on his return from Ohod said to the Musalmans that the battle the next year would take place at Bedr. Some have related that his lordship said to Fârûq: 'Tell him yes, if Allah pleaseth. When the time of the promise was approaching, Abu

Sofyân began to make preparations for the campaign, and instigated the Qoraish to march out; but his heart was not in concert with his tongue. His urgency, namely, was founded on the apprehension that the people might say he was the cause of the non-fulfilment of the promise. This appears plainly from the following circumstances: Na'ym, the son of Masu'd Aslja'y, had gone to Mekkah on pilgrimage, but before he started Abu Sofyân met him, and said: 'I have made a promise on the day of Ohod to Muhammad, but as this year dearth and scarcity of food have befallen us, I am unwilling to march against him with the army. If, therefore, thou couldst on thy arrival at Madinah frighten Muhammad and his companions so as to induce them to break the promise, I would engage to give thee twenty camels of the age of three years, and Sahal B. A'mru will be security for my fulfilling this promise.' Accordingly, when Na'ym arrived in Madinah he informed the professors of Islam that the troops of aberration were approaching in great strength and formidable numbers ready for battle and contest. He also said: 'It will be better for you to withdraw your feet within the skirts of security, and not to leave Madinah on any account.' The Musalmâns believed the words of Na'ym, and were so unwilling to march out that his lordship imagined no one would take a share in that Ghazwah. Abu Bakr, however, and O'mar waited upon his lordship, persuaded him to march out, and spoke so enticingly that he was highly pleased, and said: 'I swear by that God in the power of whose grasp my life is, that we shall sally forth, even if not a single individual accompanies us!'

After these words, the apprehensions vanished from the minds of all intelligent men, and they agreed to march. Accordingly his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—handed his victorious standard to A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—and started from Madinah in the company of one thousand five hundred valiant men for the purpose of extirpating Abu Sofyân and the army of Satan. The professors of Islâm possessed [only] ten horses, but plenty of

merchandise, which they sold on their arrival at Bedr—in the first three days of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah—to such advantage that for each dinâr of the value they obtained one dinâr's profit. And after eight days they turned their faces beaming with joy and gladness again towards Madinah, but did not encounter the idolaters on that journey. Meanwhile Abu Sofyân had marched from Mekkah with two thousand men, and had gone as far as Wâdi-tz-Tzuhrân, and had again returned, which happened as follows: When the enemies had arrived in the just-mentioned place, Abu Sofyân said to them: 'This is a year of famine and scarcity, and the camels give no milk, therefore it will be convenient for us to return from this place.' Thereon the professors of futility accepted the advice of Abu Sofyân as wise, and returned to Mekkah. When the Qoraish heard of the success and prosperity of the professors of the orthodox religion, Ssafuwân Bin Ommiah said to Abu Sofyân: 'Thou hast made a promise to give battle to Muhammad, but wast unable to fulfil it; accordingly they [*i.e.*, the Moslems] are impudent towards us.' Then they began to make preparations for the 'Battle of the Ditch,' which shall be described by-and-by, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. As the opponents had for the campaign of 'the Bedr of promise' taken no other provisions to live upon except Sawyq,[203] the inhabitants of Mekkah nicknamed the army 'the companions of Sawyq.'

Among the events that took place during the fourth year after the Flight was also the stoning of a Jew and a Jewess who had been convicted of adultery, both of whom his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—caused to be lapidated according to the Law of the Toratah, which was also in accordance with the religion of Uzza. At first, however, the Jews manifested pity for their co-religionists, and asserted that all which was required, according to the Toratah, would be to blacken the face of the adulterer and adulteress, to seat them backwards on a camel, and thus to

[203] The meaning of this word has already been explained; see footnote 262.

lead them in procession round the town. But from the researches of A'bdullah B. Sollâm, whose profession of Islâm has already been recorded in these pages, it became evident that the above assertion of the Jews was false. His holy and prophetic lordship had apprehended that the Jews would probably alter and falsify the words of the Toratah, and had ordered Zayd B. Thabet to study it. Zayd obeyed, and accomplished that important business in fifteen days.

In this year also Ta'mah B. Abzaq had stolen a cuirass from the house of Qotâdah B. Nu'mân, the Anssâri, and had carried it to the house of a Jew named Zayd B. Alyemin. By some means or other, Qotâdah happened to discover the coat of mail, and accused Zayd, but he replied: 'I am guiltless! Ta'mah has brought this cuirass to my house as a deposit.' The people of Ta'mah, however, though they knew that during the time of [pre-Islâmitic] ignorance larceny had been his occupation, waited upon his lordship the refuge of apostleship—u. w. b.—and bore witness that the honour of Ta'mah was untarnished by this crime. Therefore that prince intended to punish the Jew Zayd; meanwhile, however, the blessed verse 'We have revealed to thee the book in truth, to judge among men,' to the end of this verse was revealed. Accordingly, his lordship released Ebn Yemin, and ordered the hand of Ta'mah to be cut off; the latter, however, fled from Madinah to Mekkah and brought eternal punishment upon his soul by the occupation of thieving to which he devoted himself. During this year also the verse concerning the prohibition of the use of wine was revealed,[294] the circumstances whereof are recorded in biographical works.

Events of the Fifth Year after the Flight.

Some biographers have recorded that the Ghazwah of Dhatu-r-raqaa' took place during the month of Moharram

[294] 'They will ask thee concerning wine and lots; answer, In both there is great sin.'—Qurân, ch. ii. 216. 'O true believers, surely wine, and lots, and images, and divining arrows, are an abomination and the work of Satan,' etc.—*Ibid.*, ch. v. 92.

in this year in consequence of the information brought by a man who had come to Madinah with some sheep for sale, that the Bani Athmár and Tha'labah had collected an army, and were about to attack the professors of Islám. When the apostle of God had become aware of this intention he appointed Dhu-n-nûryn to be his lieutenant in Madinah, and marched forth with four hundred, or, according to another tradition, with five hundred men on a Sunday night on the 10th of the above-named month, and halted after reaching a place belonging to the professors of idolatry and infidelity called Dhatu-r-raqaa', where the Musalmâns found only women, because all the men had gone to the mountain. The noble companions were afraid to plunder, lest the idolaters might make use of the opportunity and come out from their ambush. In that place his lordship held the prayer of fear,[295] which was the first of this kind that had been held. Some assert that the reason for calling this the Ghazwah of Dhatu-r-raqaa' was because near the habitation of the professors of obstinacy and schism there was a mountain, a portion of which looked like the variegated patches [*Raqa*] which it is customary to mend garments with. In this expedition that prince was absent from Madinah for a fortnight, and after his return he did not march out with his army till the month Rabii' the first. Some say that the Ghazwah of Dhatu-r-raqaa' took place after the Ghazwah of Khayber.

THE GHAZWAH OF DUMATU-J-JANDAL.

It is recorded in the *Mostaqadza'* that Dumatu-j-jandal with Dzamma over the Dâl and Fath over the Jim is the name of a place, the distance whereof from Kufah amounts to ten stages, and as many to Damascus. With Fath over the Dál [when the word must be read *Damat*] it is the name of the mother of Mukhtar B. Abu O'baydah Thaqafi.

[295] 'But when thou [O prophet] shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms,' etc.--Qurân, ch. iv. 103.

It has also been said that Dumatah is a fort, the foundations of which are stone; and the produce of that region consists of dates and barley. The reason for this Ghazwah was that Akydar B. A'bdu-l-malak, the governor of that place, who was a Christian and a subject of the Qaissar [*i.e.*, Byzantine emperor], had collected an army and intended to attack his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b. When this news reached the exalted audition of the best of men, he started on Monday [date not given] of the month Rabii' the first, with one thousand men towards the fort and stronghold of the insurgents, and travelled by the aid of a guide during the night, resting during the day. When not more than the distance of one day's and night's march separated the victorious banners from Dumatu-j-jandal, information was brought to his lordship that the cattle of the opponents were near. Accordingly that prince issued orders to capture and to fetter them. The herdsmen fled, and carried the news to the fort of Dumatu-j-jandal, the people of which place dispersed, so that his lordship entered and sojourned therein several days, but sent out foraging parties in all directions, and Muhammad B. Moslamah captured and brought one of the enemies into the august assembly of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—who made inquiries about the inhabitants, and was told that they had all fled at his approach. After that this individual became a Musalmàn, and his lordship the apostle returned to Madinah, the expedition having lasted one month.

GHAZWAH OF RABYI', ALSO CALLED GHAZWAH OF THE BANI MOSSTTALAQ.

It is recorded in the *Kazrûni* that, according to the tradition of Murta', Rabyi' is the name of a well near which the Bani Mosttalaq were encamped, and in the *Mostaqadza'* we read that 'it is the water of a population between Mekkah and Madinah from the region of Qadid to the coast, and the Ghazwah is also called that of the Bani

Almossttalaq B. O'ru B. Rabia' B. Kharjah.' The cause of this Ghazwah was that Hâreth B. Abu Dharâr, the chieftain of that clan, had invited several Arab tribes to unite with him in attacking his lordship the asylum of the apostolate—u. w. b. His lordship the apostle despatched Buridah[206] B. Ahassib towards the opponents to bring correct information. He accordingly went among them, but they examined him about the prophet, and he gave gave them a reply appropriate to the circumstances, saying also: 'I have heard that you intend to wage war against Muhammad, and I have come to offer you my aid, if this report be true.' The Bani Mossttalaq treated him very respectfully, and said: 'What thou hast heard is true.' Buridah continued: 'I am going to bring an army to join you.' After uttering these words he left them, hastened to Madinah, and made his report about them. Then his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—prepared his army, gave the banner of the Mohàjer to the lord A'li B. Abu Tàleb—u. w. b.—and that of the Anssàr to Sa'd B. A'bâdah, ordering O'mar to take charge of the vanguard, Zayd B. Hàreth of the left wing, and retained A'kramah B. Mohssan near himself. In that expedition the Mohàjer had twenty horses, as also the Anssàr; and many hypocrites, allured by the hope of booty, marched on that occasion with the Musalmàns. A spy was taken and brought before Fàrûq [*i.e.*, O'mar], who was in command of the vanguard. After being closely pressed, this individual confessed that he had been sent by a chief of the Bani Mossttalaq to reconnoitre the Musalmàn army, for the purpose of enabling him to enter the lists of contention with open eyes. O'mar presented that spy also to the most exalted assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship, who examined him about his errand, and proposed to him to embrace monotheism, but that idolater refused to comply; accordingly O'mar liberated that man's soul, with the permission of hi[s]

[206] *Burid* means courier in Arabic, but the word is originally Pe[rsi]a[n] because the mules used by couriers were dock-tailed. See footnot[e] Dr. A. Sprenger's 'Meadows by Gold,' of Masu'di, p. 331.

lordship, from the captivity and servitude of his body. When the opponents heard that their spy had been killed they were overpowered by great apprehension and fear, so that all the people of the surrounding country that had gathered around Hareth now dispersed in every direction, and only the Bani Mossttalaq remained with him. His lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—halted, after traversing the proper distance, at the well of the Bani Mossttalaq. In that journey the mothers of the believers A'ayshah and Omm Solmah were present. The infidels entrusted a man, Ssafuwân by name, with their broken standard, and marched into the plain of contest. When both armies were in battle array, the apostle—u. w. b.—ordered O'mar to turn to the idolaters, and to exclaim: 'Say, there is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah, whereon your lives and your property will be spared.' But as they refused to comply, his lordship ordered the professors of Islam to rush upom them immediatoly. Abu Qotâdah then attacked them and slew the standard-bearer [*i.e.*, commander] of the infidels; Allah the Most High likewise aided the professors of Islam with His mighty angels, and inspired the hearts of the unbelievers with fear and apprehension. It is related that after the battle one of the Bani Mossttalaq said: 'On that day we beheld men dressed in white garments and mounted on piebald horses within the ranks of the Musalman army, and we had never before seen such individuals.' Jârirah, the daughter of Hâreth B. Abu Dharar, says: 'When the apostle of God arrived near us, my father said: "An army is approaching us, which we are unable to resist. I have beheld several horses and weapons in the army of Islâm which my tongue cannot describe." When I had made my profession of Islâm, and the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—married me, the grandeur and sublimity of the Musalmáns did not strike me as on the first occasion, and I knew that all the fear and awe had been thrown into the hearts of the idolaters by God the Most High, considering that in the said battle [only] ten idolaters were slain, but the others so

completely frightened that all that crowd of men and women was captured in the grasp of fate.' Jârirah, the daughter of Hâreth B. Abu Dharâr, had fallen to the share of Thabet B. Qais Shammâs, but some say that he presented her to his lordship, and others assert that he allowed her to ransom herself. Jârirah waited upon his lordship the best of men, pronounced the confession of Faith, became an adherent of Islâm, and said: 'Thabet has fixed my ransom so high that I am unable to pay it, I therefore request thee to help me.' The apostle complied with her prayer, and promised to marry her. Accordingly Jârirah replied: 'What felicity can be greater than this?' His lordship then paid the ransom and wedded her. When the noble companions learnt what had taken place, they said to each other: 'It is not meet that the relatives of the prince of the sons of Adam—u. w. b.—should suffer humiliation and captivity.' They therefore liberated all the prisoners of the tribe Bani Mossttalaq. A'ayshah says: 'I do not know any woman who has conferred a greater blessing upon her people than Jârirah.' The original name of the daughter of Hareth B. Abu Dharar was Barah, but his lordship the prince of the righteous changed it to Jârirah.

After the fight with the Bani Mossttalaq, Jahni wantonly struck, during the march, Sanan on the face, whereon the latter shouted: 'O ye Anssar!' and the former: 'O ye Mohâjer!' Then both parties rushed on each other with drawn swords, and great confusion was about to ensue; at last, however, some of the Mohâjer flattered Sanân for the sake of quelling the disturbance, and succeeded in pacifying him. When the circumstances of this quarrel were brought to the notice of A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl the hypocrite, he blazed up with ire, saying to a number of friends and hypocrites who were in his company: 'Whatever strength and dignity the Mohâjer possess they have acquired through us. I swear by Allah that their relation to us is like that of a leaf to a tree.' He further said: 'If we return to Madinah, he that is nobler will expel him

who is meaner.' By the expression 'he that is nobler that wretch meant his own miserable person, and by 'him who is meaner' he intended to designate the precious individuality of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. Then he turned towards the chiefs of his people, such as Mâlek, Sowid and Mu'qab B. Qais and others, saying: 'All this is the result of your having admitted them into your country and divided your property among them. Had you kept back your possessions from these people, they would not be riding on your necks.' Zayd B. Arqum the Anssâri, who was present in the assembly of Abu Salûl, spoke, however, despite his youthfulness, boldly against the views of the former, and then hastened to wait upon the prince of this world—u. w. b.—and represented to him what was going on. A number of the principal companions, such as Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar], Ssiddyq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr], Dhu-n-nûryn [*i.e.*, O'thman], Sa'd Abu Woqqâss, Muhammad B. Moslamah, and A'bbâs B. Bashir, were present in the august assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—who considered Zayd's assertions to flow from interested motives, but he swore an oath that the words he reported had been spoken by A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl. Hereon the apostle exclaimed: 'Perhaps thou hast not heard well?' Zayd, nevertheless, insisting on the veracity of his statement, Fârûq shouted: 'O apostle of God, allow me to strike off the head of that hypocrite!' His lordship, however, replied: 'O'mar, if I permit him to be slain many of the princes of Yathrab will tremble!' O'mar continued: 'If thou wilt not order the Mohâjer to kill him, allow Muhammad B. Moslamah or A'bâdah B. Bashir, or Sa'd B. Moa'adh, to do so.' The apostle rejoined: 'People will say Muhammad is killing his companions; [nevertheless] give them leave to march.' Accordingly O'mar obeyed orders, despite of the great heat, and no one knew the reason for starting in such warm weather, which was, however, to deprive everyone of the opportunity for holding similar conversations. When his holy and prophetic lordship mounted his she-camel

Qasswi, Sa'd B. Moa'adh came forward, and said: 'Greeting to thee, O prophet, with the mercy of Allah and His blessings! What is the matter with thee that thou hast started at this unpropitious hour?' His lordship replied: 'Perhaps you have not heard what your friend has said?' Sa'd asked: 'What friend?' His lordship replied: 'Ebn Abu Salûl has said that when he arrives in Madinah he who is more noble will expel him who is more mean.' Sa'd answered: 'O apostle of God, if thou willest thou canst expel him from Madinah, because he is mean and thou art the noblest of the people; and special nobility is peculiar to God, to thee, and to the believers.' Some biographers have recorded that the just-mentioned conversation passed between Asyd B. Khudzar and his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. After that Sa'd B. Moa'adh, or Asyd B. Khudzar, according to two different traditions, said to the prophet: 'Be kind and friendly to him, because before thy august approach the people of Madinah had agreed to place the reins of the important office of government into the grasp of his power and choice. A diadem encrusted with rubies, pearls, and precious gems had been prepared at Madinah, and completed, except one costly gem which Yoshua', the Jew, possessed and valued very highly on account of the need of the people, and would not sell at any price. Meanwhile the Lord God Most High had adorned and ennobled our country with thy august existence, and the crown of Ebn Abu Salûl remained in the shop of the jeweller. He knows that thou art the cause of his having been deprived of the government, and on account of this disappointment he makes such speeches.' It is related that the lord of prophecy sent a man to A'bdullah [Ebn Abu Salûl] to reproach him for having uttered the above-mentioned threat; others, however, allege that certain Anssâris said to him: 'Some of thy words have reached the most exalted prophetic audition, and if they be true thou must hasten to wait upon his lordship, apologize to him, and repent of what thou hast uttered, so that he may intercede for thee with the Almighty. Thou

oughtest to be very contrite, because possibly a verse may be revealed concerning thee, wherein Allah the Most High will bring thy falsehood to light. But if those words be not true it will be thy duty to excuse and to free thyself from the aspersion.' Accordingly Ebn Abu Monáfiq [*i.e.*, E Abu Salûl] entered the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—swore that he had never uttered the words reported to his lordship the apostle, and that the assertion of Zayd B. Arqum was mendacious. Some who were present in the prophetic assembly thought that Zayd had purposely uttered a lie, whilst others imagined that he had concocted the story on account of the heedlessness of his youthful age. As A'bdullah [E. Abu Salûl] enjoyed high dignity and respect among his people, they said: 'O apostle of God, the utterance of a boy with reference to one of our Sheikhs is deserving of no credence.' Accordingly the apostle of God accepted the excuse of A'bdullah; the Anssâr greatly blamed Zayd, and his uncle said: 'Thou hast done this only that the apostle—u. w. b.—has, by forgiving A'bdullah, convicted thee of falsehood, has believed a hypocrite, and has raised the enmity of the people against thee.' During that day and night the army of Islâm continued to march, and halted the next morning when the sun rose. Fatigue had so overpowered the men that every one went immediately to sleep, and that no opportunity remained for discussing the affair of A'bdullah and Zayd. The last-mentioned individual had before this event been accustomed to ride near the body-guard of his lordship, but after it shame and grief kept him at a distance. There is a tradition that Zayd B. Arqum said: 'I was riding on my horse, and was greatly depressed in spirit, when ll of a sudden the apostle—u. w. b.—overtook me, pulled my ear, looked smilingly in my face, and said: "Glad tidings to thee, O Zayd, for God the Most High considers thee to be true, and A'bdullah a liar." Then he recited the chapter of the hypocrites as far as the verse: "They say, Verily if we return to Madinah, the

worthier shall expel thence the meaner." '[207] After the veracity of Zayd B. Arqum had become evident, A'bâdah B. Assâmat and Awus B. A'bdullah passed near A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl, and failed to greet him. He therefore reproved them, but those two blessed individuals warned him of the eternal punishment he would have to incur for having sworn a false oath, and Awus said: 'We shall have nothing to do with thee until thou repentest.' And A'bâdah added: 'Come to his lordship, that he may ask the forgiveness of God for thee.' That heedless and perjured man, however, turned his neck and looked away from A'bdullah, who continued: 'By Allah! with reference to thee and the turning of thy neck, a verse of the Qurân will be revealed, which shall be recited during prayers;' and the blessed verse, 'When it is said unto them, Come, that the apostle of God may ask pardon for you, they turn away their heads, and thou seest them retire big with disdain,'[208] is confirmatory of the above assertion.

It is said that A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl had a son of the same name who obeyed God and the prophet, being very different from his father. When this young man heard Fârûq requesting the apostle to appoint Muhammad B. Moslamah or some other Anssar to kill A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl, he approached his lordship, and said: 'If thou intendest to slay my father, order me to do it, and I swear by Allah that ere thou risest from the assembly I shall bring his head to thee. By Allah! the men of the Khazraj [tribe] know that of all of them I have acted the best towards my father, and that since a certain time he takes neither food nor drink from the hands of anyone except from me; and I fear, O apostle of God, that if another man attempts to kill him, and I see it, consanguinity [or, rather, filial duty] will compel me to avenge his death on that person, and that I shall for such a deed obtain eternal punishment in hell. Thy favour, however, and thy forgivingness are great.' The apostle—u. w. b.—replied: 'O A'bdullah, it is not my intention to kill thy

[207] Qurân, ch. lxiii. 8. [208] *Ibid.*, 5.

father, nor have I ordered anyone to do so, and as long as he remains among us I shall treat him well.' When A'bdullah, the son of A'bdullah E. Salûl knew that the life of his father was to be spared, he uttered some distich, the translation of which [from the Arabic] is as follows:

'The world is full of marvels, but more wonderful are
The words I heard O'mar saying to the prophet:
"Order some one to bring Ebn Abu's head to thee!"
I said to the apostle: "If he is to be killed, order me to do it."
My arm is strong and my heart is firm,
My resolution is stauncher than iron and ore.'

It is related in the *Mostaqadza* that when Ebn Abu Salûl arrived near Madinah, and desired to enter that prosperous region, his son A'bdullah took hold of his horse's bridle, stopped it, and said: 'I swear by God that I shall not allow thee to enter this town unless by the permission of the apostle of God, because he is the most noble of the sons of Adam, and thou art the meanest of the inhabitants of this world.' He asked permission from his lordship to commit parricide, but the latter replied: 'Let him alone, and behave kindly to him.'

It is related that during the return march from the Ghazwah with the Bani Mossttalaq a very high wind commenced to blow, and some people thought that enemies had entered Madinah to plunder it [on such an occasion]; but his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—exclaimed: 'Be not afraid! Madinah is my place, and there is no spot nor corner thereof which does not contain an angel to guard it and to watch over it; this day, however, one of the very greatest hypocrites has died.' And, according to the tradition of Muhammad E. Esahaq, Zayd B. Raqaa'h had on that day departed to hell. When this information reached A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl he was overpowered with fear and grief, because he had been on very intimate terms with the deceased.

Story of the Slander.[299]

There is a tradition of A'ayshah that she said: 'When the apostle intended to go on a journey he was in the habit of drawing or throwing lots concerning his wives, and she on whom it [*i.e.*, the lot] fell accompanied him. In this Ghazwah the lot came upon my hame, and I enjoyed the happiness of going with him. As at that time the verse of the curtain had not yet been revealed, a howdah was prepared for me, in which I sat, and which was placed on the camel I rode. When the campaign was over we marched back, and arrived in the vicinity of Mekkah [*sic*]. Whilst the order to start was being given in one of the halting-places I had gone out of the camp for a natural purpose, and on returning to it I perceived that I had lost my necklace. Accordingly I retraced my steps and searched the place where I had been till I found my trinket. In my absence, however, the men who were accustomed to place the howdah upon the camel arrived and did their duty. At that time women were weak and light, because they were content to eat only so much as would satisfy their hunger. I was young and light, so that the difference of the weight could not be perceived whether I was in the howdah or not. When I returned from the place where I had answered a call of nature I saw no one, and said to myself: "If they do not see me they will come and look for me." Accordingly I sat down in the same place until I was overpowered by sleep, and began to slumber until the morning, when Ssafuwán B. Moa'ttal Solmy, who had followed in the rear of the army for some business, arrived in that place, saw me, and exclaimed: "We are Allah's, and unto Him shall we surely return."[300] The repetition of this phrase awakened me, and caused me to veil my face. Ssafuwán made his camel kneel down, stood aloof, and said:

[299] The whole statement of A'ayshah, one of the wives of the prophet, our author has literally translated from Ebn Esshâq's biography of Muhammad, published in the original Arabic by Dr. Wüstenfeld, and translated by me into English.

[300] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

"Mount." Accordingly I rode on the camel, which Saafuwân led with the bridle, until we reached, during the heat of the day, the place where the army was halting. Hypocrites have uttered with reference to us whatever opinions their minds suggested; of their number A'bdullah Bin Abu Salûl was one, and of that of the Musalmâns were Hasân B. Thâbet, and Mosattah B. Asâmah, and others, who all agreed in the calumny [concerning me].'

Ssidiqah [*i.e.*, A'ayshah] continues: 'When I arrived in Madinah I fell sick, and the calumnies of those men spread among the people. I knew nothing, but I found that the apostle's behaviour towards me had changed. I did not experience any of that kindness from him which he had manifested to me in former maladies; but I was not aware of the cause until one night during my recovery, when I was with the mother of Mosattah—who then happened to be in Madinah—going out for a natural purpose, water-closets not having as yet become customary at that time. Her wrapper having become entangled, she fell down, and began to revile her son; but I asked: "Insultest thou a man who has been present at the battle of Bedr?" This falling and squabbling was thrice repeated, whereon she said at last: "O A'ayshah, hast thou not heard what he said?" I asked what he had spoken, and the mother of Mosattah informed me of the circumstances of the case and of the slander. My disease augmented, and I returned to the house. When the apostle of God came near me, I said: "O apostle of Allah, permit me to return to my father's house," my intention being to institute an inquiry into the matter of the calumny. When I arrived in my father's house I asked my mother: "What story are the people relating about me?" My mother replied: "Be not dismayed, but take the matter easy. By Allah! there is not one handsome and noble woman whom her husband loves, but has other wives besides her, concerning whom similar tales are not bandied about." I exclaimed: "Praise be to Allah! have they said such words?" But I could not sleep that night, and my tears did not cease to flow.'

Saidiqah continues: 'His lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—called A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—and Asâmatah B. Zayd, to consult them about divorcing me. Asâmatah said: "We think nothing but good about thy wife." And A'li B. Abu Ttâleb said: "O apostle of God, the Almighty has not distressed thee through women, except by their multitude. Examine Baryrah, the servant girl of A'ayshah, and she will tell the truth." Accordingly that prince examined Baryrah, and she spoke as follows: "I swear by that God who has sent thee in truth that I have seen nothing blameworthy in A'ayshah, except that she sometimes falls asleep, so that the sheep come and eat up the leavened flour."'

Esma'il B. Nitzâmu-l-mulkrelates in the *Khulâssatu-s-seyr* that in those times his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was one day sitting in his house in a state of depression and melancholy, when Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] entered, and the apostle asked him: 'What sayest thou of this event?' He replied: 'O apostle of God, I know for a certainty that the hypocrites are speaking lies.' He continued: 'By what reason?' Fârûq replied: 'By reason of God's not allowing a fly to settle upon thy blessed skirts, because it alights also on impure things and soils its feet. How, then, would He not preserve thee from a worse defilement?' His lordship was highly pleased and flattered by these remarks. After that Dhu-n-nûryn entered, and his lordship spoke to him on the same subject, and he replied: 'I am sure the hypocrites are liars.' That prince continued: 'By what reason?' He replied: 'Because God the Most High does not allow thy shadow to fall upon the ground, lest it might be polluted, or a person might step thereon. If, therefore, God the Most High thus protects thy shadow, will He not restrain thy honoured spouse from committing such an impropriety, or allow a stranger to defile the honour of thy wife with the pollution of treachery?' At these words of Dhu-n-nûryn the most noble mind became yet more tranquillized. Then A'li B. Abu Ttâleb entered, whereon his holy and prophetic lord-

ship—u. w. b.—repeated his former words, to which A'li replied: 'This story is but a fiction and a lie of the hypocrites. The proof of my assertion is, that one day we were at prayers with thee, during which thou hadst removed thy sandals from thy feet, and we imitated thy example. After our devotions were terminated, thou hadst asked why we bared our feet, and we replied that we had done so to imitate thee, whereon thou hadst said: "I put away the sandals because Jebrâil had informed me that they were prayerless." Now, if God the Most High has sent thee a revelation that thy sandals are prayerless, He would surely have informed thee of this matter also, had it been true. Keep, therefore, thy exalted mind at ease, because the Most High will cause the innocence of A'ayshah to become manifest.' All these utterances so gladdened the heart of his lordship that he immediately went to the house of Ssidiqah.

Ssidiqah says: 'I was sitting in the house of my parents, and was weeping, when a certain Anssâri woman entered and kept me company in crying; both my parents were also sitting with us, when all of a sudden the apostle of God honoured us with his noble presence, opened his mouth, after sitting down, in praise of God the Most High, uttered both the professions,[301] and said: "After the usual salutations, I inform thee, O A'ayshah, that if thou art free of this crime God the Most High will soon satisfy thee. But if thou be guilty, then repent, ask forgiveness from, and return to the obedience of God; because if a servant falls into sin, but confesses and repents, the Most High accepts his contrition, and grants him pardon."' A'ayshah says: 'When the apostle of Allah had done speaking, my tears also ceased to flow, and I said to my father: "Reply to his lordship the apostle." But my father answered: "By Allah! I do not know what to reply to him. During the time of ignorance we were idolaters, and did not know the religion. Nobody ever uttered such words with regard to

[301] The first profession is that there is no God but Allah; and the second is that Muhammad is His prophet.

our family, and now, when our house is illuminated by the light of Islâm, and the caskets of our hearts are brightened by the light of monotheism, people are holding such speeches about us, what am I to say to the apostle of God?" Then I said to my mother: "Reply for me." But my mother rejoined: "I am also at a loss what to answer." Accordingly I was under the necessity of doing so myself, as follows: "I swear by God that if I say I am innocent of what you have heard about me, and of what you believe, you will place no faith in my words; but if I confess to have committed what I have not, you will believe me. By Allah! in the matter between you and me I cannot find a better resemblance than the words of Yusuf [Joseph[302]]—peace be on him—who said: 'Verily patience is best, and God will defeat their insinuations.'" And on account of the great fear and trouble I was in, the words of Y'aqûb [Jacob] with reference to Yusuf might have been applied to me.'

In some books it is recorded that Sṣidiqah said: 'I exclaimed, "I swear by God that I cannot find a better consolation for me than the words of Yusuf: 'Verily patience is best,'" etc., and though I tried much to speak about Y'aqûb, my memory failed me; so I turned my face away after uttering these words, and reclined. And, by Allah! as I was innocent, I knew that his lordship would absolve me from all blame. I had, however no idea that with reference to me a verse of the Qurân would be revealed, to be read in mosques and places of prayer till the day of the resurrection, because I was aware of the greatness and magnificence of the Lord of Glory, and considering my own abject and helpless condition, I thought myself too mean that the Lord God should speak about me. Nevertheless, I hoped that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—would dream a dream which would convince him of my innocence. But I swear by Allah that his lordship had not yet risen from the assembly, nor had anyone as yet left

[302] For the Moslem version of the story of Jacob, Joseph and his brethren, see Part I., vol. i., p. 198, of this work.

the house, when the signs of Divine revelation began to manifest themselves upon his lordship; and whenever the signs of revelation appeared, the people who were with him became aware thereof.'

Saidiqah continues: 'On that occasion my mother placed a cushion of perfumed goat-leather under his lordship's head, and covered him with a Yemeni cloak, which he removed from his face as soon as the Divine inspiration developed itself. From his blessed countenance drops of perspiration began to trickle like so many brilliant pearls; he smiled, and the first words he uttered were these: "Glad tidings to thee, O A'ayshah! God the Most High has exculpated thee, and borne witness to thy purity." My mother then said: "A'ayshah, rise! Go to the apostle —u. w. b.—and wait upon him." I replied: "By Allah, I shall not! In this matter I do not wish to incur obligation to anyone except to God, nor shall I praise and laud anyone except Him who has sent my justification."'

With reference to the purity of A'ayshah, ten verses have been revealed, which begin with the words, '[As to] the party among you who have published the falsehood [concerning A'ayshah],'[303] and end with the following, 'The wicked women [should be joined] to the wicked men, and the wicked men to the wicked women; but the good women [should be married] to the good men, and the good men to the good women. These shall be cleared from [the calumnies] which they [*i.e.*, the slanderers] speak [of them]; they shall obtain pardon, and an honourable provision.'[304] It is said that before the verses justifying A'ayshah had been revealed, the wife of Abu Ayûb the Anssâri said to him: 'Hast thou heard what people are speaking about A'ayshah?' Abu Ayûb replied: 'It is not for us to talk of this matter. God forbid! It is a great slander.' These words were approved in the Court of Unity; and accordingly the blessed verse, 'It belongeth not unto us that we should talk of this [matter]. Allah forbid! This is a grievous calumny!'[305] was revealed.

[303] Qurân, ch. xxiv. 11. [304] *Ibid.*, 26. [305] *Ibid.*, 15.

It is related that Mosattah B. Asâmah was a relative of Abu Bakr, not blessed with any worldly goods, and that Ssidyq supplied him with all the necessaries of life despite his own poverty. It has been narrated above that, in this matter, Mosattah B. Asâmah sided with the hypocrites, and when the verse of justification was revealed, Abu Bakr swore that he would no longer give anything to Mosattah; and on that occasion God the Most High and Magnificent revealed the following verse: 'Let not those among you who possess abundance [of wealth] and [have] ability swear that they will not give unto [their] kindred and the poor, and those who have fled their country for the sake of Allah's true religion; but let them forgive, and act with benevolence [towards them]. Do ye not desire that Allah should pardon you? And Allah is gracious [and] merciful.'[306] When Ssidyq heard this verse, he said: 'Indeed I want God the Most High to forgive me'; whereon he provided food and raiment for Mosattah as of yore, and swore to continue to do so to the end of his life.

In the *Khulâssatu-s-seyr* it is recorded that when the verses exculpating A'yshah were revealed, his holy and prophetic lordship punished four persons, each of whom received eighty lashes with a whip; they were A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl the hypocrite, and Hasan B. Thabet, and Mosattah B. Asâmah, and Juhnah, the sister of Zaynab, daughter of Hajash, Zaynab being one of the mothers of the Believers [*i.e.*, one of the wives of the prophet].

Some relaters of traditions state that during this journey [or Ghazwah of the Bani Mosttalaq] the verse 'to complete'[307] was revealed, which happened as follows: When the victorious banners of his holy and prophetic lordship—

[306] Quran, ch. xxiv. 22.

[307] The words 'to complete' occur only towards the end of the verse, but it is necessary to give the whole of it here, for the sake of perspicuity, as follows: 'But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or [if] you have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith. Allah would not put a difficulty upon you; but He desireth to purify you, and to complete His favour upon you, that ye may give thanks.'—Quran, ch. v. 9.

u. w. b.—had arrived near Madinah, the necklace of A'ayshah was lost, and his lordship the apostle halted in a place until the lost article should be found. As, however, in that locality the companions were unable to obtain any water, their prayers would be of no effect. Therefore some Musalmâns went to Ssidyq and grumbled that on account of the loss of his daughter A'ayshah's necklace the apostle of God—u. w. b.—was remaining in a waterless place like this, and that the time for prayers had nearly expired. Abu Bakr accordingly entered the tent of A'ayshah, where he found the apostle—u. w. b.—asleep with his blessed head in her lap. Abu Bakr reproached his daughter, and spoke sharply to her. When his lordship the apostle awoke from sleep and found no water for the ablution required before prayers, God the Most High and Glorious revealed in His boundless mercy the verse 'to complete';[308] and there is a tradition of A'ayshah that, when they caused the camel to get up, they found the necklace under it.

The Ghazwah of the Ditch, called also the Ghazwah of the Confederates.

When the apostle—u. w. b.—had driven the Bani Annatzyr away from the vicinity of Mekkah, they dispersed in the country. A number of them, such as Hay B. Akhttâb and Sollum B. Al-tahyq and Kenanah B. Rabyi', with their adherents, went to Khayber, where they settled. They were, however, day and night meditating how they might avenge themselves upon the Musalmâns, till at last about twenty individuals of them went with Abu A'amer the monk to Mekkah, and invited the Qoraish idolaters to wage war against the professors of Islâm. They also informed Abu Sofyân of the object of their visit, saying: 'We have come to make an alliance with you to extirpate and to annihilate Muhammad, and to confirm our intention by a treaty.' Sofyân replied: 'You are welcome. We

[308] See preceding footnote.

love those people best who hate Muhammad most and are ready to assist us in that matter to the best of their ability.' Then the Jews requested Abu Sofyân to cause seventy chosen men of the Qoraish to go among the curtains of the Ka'bah, so as to touch the house of Allah with their breasts. In this way they made a covenant with each other to be steadfast and unanimous in their enmity towards his lordship the apostle, and not to cease to wage war against him during their whole lives, and Abu Sofyân said, at the instigation of the Qoraish, to the Bani An-natzyr Jews: 'We keep the buildings of the Ka'bah in good order, we slaughter camels with big hunches for our guests, we provide the pilgrims with food and drink, we cherish our kindred, and maintain the worship of idols according to the custom of our fathers and ancestors; but Muhammad has brought a new religion with new-fangled usages. Tell us now, as you are learned and possessors of the book [of the Pentateuch], which of these two religions is better?' The Jews, although they hated idolatry, nevertheless gave preference to the Qoraish over the orthodox religion and most noble Law on account of their envy, not dreading the wrath of God the Most High, who thereon revealed the following verse with reference to them: 'Lookest thou not upon those to whom a part of the book has been given; they believe in Jibt and in Ttaghût, and say to those who have professed unbelief: "These are more directed in the [right] way than those who have believed. They are those whom Allah has cursed."'[309] till the end of the verse. After the Qoraish had obtained the approbation of the Jews they made preparations for war. The Bani Natzyr and the idolaters appointed a time for assembling, and after they had satisfied their minds on the progress of their affairs they went to the tribe Ghattafân, and received their aid on the promise of one year's crop of dates, and entered into similar engagements with other tribes. Abu Sofyân occupied himself with collecting the army, and started

[309] Qurân, ch. iv. 54.—Sale has 'false gods and idols,' *Jibt and Ttaghût.*

from Mekkah with four thousand men, one thousand five hundred camels, and three hundred horses. The banner [of command], which had been tied [to a spear] in the 'house of assembly,' was given to Nu'mân B. Ttolhah B. Abu Ttolhah. In Mara-Atzahrân, O'tbah B. Hassyn Qorâwi, the chief of the tribe Ghattafân, and Ttolhah B. Kowildar, the headman of the Bani Asad, and the chiefs of other tribes, such as Hâreth B. A'wuf and Sa'd B. Baryrah and others, arrived with their troops and met the Qoraish. The multitude of the enemies was so great that the mountains and plains could scarcely contain them, and all of them marched together towards Madinah. When the ray of information shone upon the front of his lordship's luminous mind he convoked the principal Mohâjer and Anssâr, in order to consult with them about warding off the evil intentions of the enemies and opponents. A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl's opinion was not to leave the town, and the majority of the companions coincided therewith. Salmân Fârsi[310] represented that whenever a numerous army approached a town in Persia, and the inhabitants were not strong enough to meet it, they usually dug a ditch around the town. This advice being approved of, preparations were made for the campaign. His lordship—u. w. b.—left Ebn Maktûm as his lieutenant in Madinah, conferred the banner of the Mohâjer upon Zayd B. Hârethah, and that of the Anssâr on Sa'd B. A'bâdah, and marched from Madinah with three thousand men, pitching his camp on the flank of a mountain near the town. Other portions of the vicinity of Madinah were obstructed by edifices and walls; but in the place where the camp had been established the excavation of a ditch became necessary. Accordingly orders, to which obedience was due, had been issued from the court of prophecy to the Musalmans to dig a fosse, his lordship first marking it with the line of direction and then dividing [the excavation of] it among his companions; according to a certain tradition, ten cubits were

[310] A Persian convert to Islâm, mentioned in the chapter headed 'Something about Salmân the Persian,' etc.—See p. 261.

allotted to each squad of ten men. His lordship being on good terms with the Bani Qoryttah Jews, spades, baskets, and other tools were borrowed from them, and the Musalmâns began with all diligence to excavate the fosse, to carry soil, and to aid each other in the work. It is said that in those days Salmân did as much work as ten other men, and there is a tradition that one day Qays B. Abu Ssa'ssa'h struck Salmân on the eye, so that he fainted and fell to the ground. When this matter reached the luminous mind of his lordship the best of men, he ordered Qays to perform the religious ablution for the sake of Salmân, to wash the latter with the water of it, and then to place the vessel that contained it upside down on the back of Salmân, which having been done, he was immediately delivered of his calamity.

It is related that on account of the coldness of the weather, and the famine and dearth which raged on that occasion, the professors of Islâm had great trouble in digging the fosse, which they nevertheless completed within the space of six days, but confined their wives, children, and property within the strongholds of Madinah.

Barâ B. Ghârab and Jâber B. A'bdullah the Anssari relate that whilst digging the fosse the people met with a large and hard stone, upon which neither spade nor mattock could take effect, and that they were unable to break it. Accordingly the difficulty was reported to the prince of apostles—u. w. b.—who replied: 'I shall come myself,' although on account of hunger he felt his own blessed abdomen [hard ?] as if a stone had been on it. As soon as the apostle of God had arrived near the stone he scattered the pieces thereof with powerful blows.

In the *Mostaqadza* it is related of O'mar B. A'wuf that he said: 'The apostle of God—u. w. b.—had repeatedly ordered me, and Salman, and Khodaifah, and Nu'mân, with six other Anssâr to excavate forty cubits of soil, but we met suddenly with a rock, in the digging out of which all our tools were broken. Accordingly I said to Salmân: "Inform his lordship the apostle of this matter." He did so and

the latter vouchsafed to come and to enter the ditch with Salmân, while we other nine persons stood on the margin. His lordship took the pickaxe from the hand of Salmân, and hit the stone so that it split, and lightning issued therefrom, which illuminated the whole of Madinah like a lamp in a dark room. Hereon his lordship shouted the "*Takbyr* of victory," the Musalmâns seconding him. After that he again struck the rock, and the same lightning gushed out. Then the *Takbyr* and the blow were given twice more, whereon Salmân exclaimed: "May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee, O apostle of God! What is this, the like of which we have never seen before?" The apostle turned to the people, and said: "Have you seen what Salman has seen?" They replied: "Yes, O apostle of God!" After that he continued: "At the first blow I gave I saw by the lightning thereof the kiosks of Ssafâ in Yemen, and Jebrâil informed me that my people shall take that country."' In some other traditions we read that when his lordship struck the rock, and at each blow lightning issued, he asked his companions: 'Have you seen the light?' They answered: 'Yes, O apostle of God.' He continued: 'At the first luminousness I beheld the palaces of Syria, at the second the castles of Yemen, and at the third the white palace of Kesra.' Then he addressed Salmân, and examined him about the peculiarities of the kiosk of Madayn. Salman replied: 'I swear by that God who has sent thee in truth, that whatever thou hast said about this palace coincides with the reality, and I testify that thou art the apostle of God.' His lordship then said to his companions: 'The dominion of my people will extend to that place, and afterwards the professors of Islâm will conquer those regions.' The Musalmâns rejoiced at this news, and said: 'Praise and glory be to God, who has vouchsafed to give us the promise of victory!' Salmân says: 'I swear by God that after the [decease of the] prophet I saw everything fulfilled as he had predicted.'

Abu Sofyân—being aware that the Bani Qoryttah Jews had made an alliance with the apostle not to aid his

enemies, on condition that his lordship would likewise not injure themselves—requested Hay B. Akhttâb, when he was about to commence hostilities against the Musalmâns, to go and to induce Ka'b B. Asa'd the chieftain by some means or other to break his promise, and to ally himself [with his people the Bani Qoryttah] to the opponents of the prince of apostles. Accordingly Hay B. Akhttâb, being deluded by the words of Abu Sofyân and tempted by Satan, placed his foot into the plain of aberration, went to the fort of Ka'b, and knocked at the gate. When the latter knew that Hay was at the portal of his stronghold, he said to himself: 'What am I to do to impede Hay from entering, for he is a cunning man, and will endeavour to persuade me to break my word?' Then he ordered the gate-keeper not to admit him. When Hay perceived that the door of hope was barred against him, he exclaimed: 'O Ka'b, open the gate of thy fort; I am Hay.' Ka'b replied: 'Hay, thou art an unhallowed man, and by thy malevolence the Bani An-natzyr have been dispersed and undone. Hast thou now come to destroy and to annihilate us also? Return; for we have made an alliance with Muhammad, which he has honestly confirmed. Heretofore we have experienced from him nothing but uprightness, truth, and love.' Hay rejoined: 'Open the door, that I may speak to thee. Wouldst thou withhold thy hospitality from me, not refresh me, and not even open the gate to me?' As among the Arabs no vice is considered more despicable than avarice, Ka'b was under the necessity of opening the door, and when Hay entered, he said: 'Ka'b, I bring thee tidings of felicity. The chiefs of the Arabs and the princes of the Qoraish have assembled in great numbers at Majma' Alassal; the tribe Ghattafân, and besides them many others of the Azad and of the Asad leaders, have encircled the region of Ohod, and have made a league with each other that they will not return until they have destroyed Muhammad and his companions.' Ka'b replied: 'I swear by God that thou hast arrived contemptible and abject! Thou hast brought a cloud which

will not shed its water,[311] and contains nothing but thunder and lightning. Leave thou Muhammad alone, for we have experienced from him nothing but honesty and kindness.' Though in the beginning Ka'b returned answers like the words just recorded, that unfortunate man nevertheless succumbed at last to the cunning persuasion of Hay, swerving from the straight path, but uttered the following apprehension: 'I fear lest the Qoraish return to their own country without being able to injure Muhammad; thou also wilt return to thy country, and we shall be punished with death as a reward for what we have done.' Hay now swore by the Torâtâh [Pentateuch], and said: 'If the Qoraish and the Ghattafân return without attaining their object, I shall enter thy fort with thee, and be ready to suffer anything which may befall thee.' And that companion of the army of Eblis [*i.e.*, Satan] used such cunning that the chieftain of the Qoryttah was deceived by his words, and tore the treaty to pieces which he had made with his lordship the Musstafa—u. w. b.

When the impure mind of that base and accursed individual, *i.e.*, of Hay, had been set at rest with reference to the Bani Qoryttah, he returned and informed the Qoraish of the success of his mission. When the information that the Jews had broken their covenant reached the exalted audition, the sublime mind was greatly affected, and, by the permission of his lordship the best of men, Zobeyr B. Ala'wwâm, went among the Bani Qoryttah to make inquiries on the subject, and brought on his return the news that they were engaged in collecting their animals and repairing their fort. After that Sa'd B. Moa'adh and Sa'd B. A'bâdah and A'bdullah B. Ruâhah went by order of the apostle—u. w. b.—to the Bani Qoryttah to treat with them in case the above information should prove to be true. The just-mentioned individuals arrived among the Jews, and found them intent on enmity and contention; therefore they began first to advise Ka'b B. Asa'd, but without success, so that at last sharp words were exchanged

311 *I.e.*, thou hast made statements which will not be realised.

between him and Sa'd B. A'bâdah. After Sa'd B. Moa'adh had pacified Sa'd B. A'bâdah, all of them returned together to Madinah and informed the favourite of the Most High of what had taken place, whereon his lordship exclaimed: 'We trust in Allah, and He is a good advocate!'

When the information had spread among the Musalmâns that those faithless people had broken their covenant, their fears and apprehensions increased. Meanwhile the cavalry of the idolaters began to make their appearance. Mâlek B. A'wuf and O'tbah B. Hassyn, with the Bani Asad, the Ghattafân and the Bani Qorârah, arrived from the upper part of the Wâdi, which is situated east of Madinah, and the Qoraish, with the Bani Kanânah, became visible at the extremity of the Wâdi. The hearts of the weak among the Musalmâns failed them, and their eyes were dazzled at the aspect of the formidable multitude of the enemy, as God the Most High has said: 'When they came against you from above you and below you, and when [your] sight became troubled and [your] hearts came even to [your] throats [for fear], and ye imagined of Allah [various] imaginations. Then were the faithful tried, and made to tremble a violent trembling.'[312] Moghaytt B. Qasrah, who was one of the hypocrites, said on the occasion of the siege: 'Muhammad is promising that the treasures of the Qayssar and the Kesra will fall to our lot, and now we have not even a chance to go out to answer the calls of nature; therefore the promises made to us by Allah and by His apostle are but lies and falsehoods.' God has said: 'And when the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts was an infirmity, said, Allah and His apostle have made you no other than a fallacious promise.'[313] A number of hypocrites were persuading the Musalmâns to return to their houses and not to follow his lordship the apostle—u. w. b. Accordingly some of them waited on his lordship, asking for permission to return to their habitations, on the pretence that they were empty [of people] and that the enemy might enter and plunder them. On this subject God the Most

[312] Qurân, ch. xxxiii. 10, 11. [313] *Ibid.*, 12.

High revealed the following verse: 'And when a party of them said, O inhabitants of Yathrab, there is no place [of security] for you [here]; wherefore return [home]. And a part of them asked leave of the prophet [to depart], saying, Verily our houses are defenceless [and exposed to the enemy]; but they were not defenceless, [and] their intention was no other than to flee.'[314]

When the idolaters arrived near the bank of the ditch they were astonished, because that custom[315] had not been in use in the Arab country. Then they commenced besieging the professors of Islâm, and hostilities began on both sides by fighting and shooting arrows. During the contest the infidels endeavoured to approach the tent of his lordship the apostle, but were unable to cross the ditch, from which some valiant men were keeping them off. It is related that on account of the haste wherewith the Musalmâns had been working, one of the sides of the ditch had been left unfinished, and that for fear the idolaters might find an entrance by it into the camp, his lordship was accustomed nightly to watch it in his own sacred person, and the cold being intense at that time, his lordship went every time he felt chilly to A'ayshah to warm his blessed body, and again returned to his post. Nor did his lordship suffer such hardships in any other Ghazwah as in 'the War of the Ditch,' because in those days there was great scarcity of victuals, famine prevailed among the Musalmâns, and the weather was very inclement. Nevertheless, for the sake of relieving the distress of his companions, his lordship the receptacle of termination—u. w. b.—found it expedient to give one-third of the produce of Madinah to the Ghattafân and to the Qorârah to induce them to return, and thus to cause a division in the army of the idolaters. O'tbah B. Hassyn and Hâreth B. A'wuf, who were the chiefs of those people, agreed to make peace, and were for the completion of the treaty admitted into the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—Dhun-nûryn being ordered to write the treaty:

[314] Qurân. ch. xxxiii. 13. [315] Custom of excavating ditches.

but before this was confirmed by witnesses the prince of existences found it convenient to consult Sa'd B. Moa'adh and Sa'd B. A'bádah, both of whom spoke as follows: 'O apostle of God, if the affair of the treaty of peace be commanded by Divine revelation, we hear and obey; but if it be based on other considerations pray inform us?' His lordship replied: 'Divine revelation has nothing to do with this matter, but as I saw that the Arab tribes are, as it were, all shooting arrows from the same bow at you, I thought that by making peace with a portion of them I would produce a division among the infidels, and lessen their power.' The two Sa'ds continued: 'O apostle of God, at the time when we and they were as yet idolaters they never aspired to the possession of a single date from our palm-groves except as guests. Why should we at present, when we have been exalted to the honour of following thee, submit to such humiliation and become liable to such baseness? We swear by Allah that we shall not give them anything except [blows with our] swords until God the Most High decides between us and them. Accordingly, at a sign from his lordship the apostle, Sa'd B. Moa'adh tore the treaty to pieces, whereon the chiefs of the Ghattafán and of the Qorárah left the august assembly disappointed and awed.

Wâqidi says that O'tbah and Háreth had come into the most noble assembly for the purpose of completing the treaty of peace, and were sitting therein, when Asyd B. Khadzyr, fully armed and equipped in iron and steel, hastened to wait on the refuge of termination, and perceived O'tbah sitting [contrary to etiquette] with outstretched legs in the presence of his lordship. Asyd knew not what had been written, but, being angry at O'tbah's incivility, addressed him as follows: 'O thou eye of a fox's pup, draw in thy legs; for it is unbecoming to stretch them out, and to sit thus in the assembly of the apostle—u. w. b. By Allah! if it were not for the respect due to the presence of the apostle, I would pierce both thy sides with one arrow.' The rest of the words of Asyd expressed

his dissent from the proposed treaty, and resembled those recorded above of Sa'd B. Moa'adh. His lordship thereon ordered the agreement to be torn to pieces. O'tbah, being disappointed, now rose and said: 'It would have been better for you to yield some of the dates of Madinah than to expose yourself to the hardship of war, because you have neither the patience nor the strength to cope with our tribes.' Asyd retorted: 'O'tbah, threatenest thou us with the sword? It will soon appear whether you or we will lament. I swear by Allah that if I were not restrained by the respect due to the assembly of the apostle—u. w. b.—you would not return.' Then his holy and prophetic lordship said in a loud voice to the Ghattafân chiefs: 'Return to your people, for between you and us the sword alone will decide.' It is related that when those who had coveted the dates of Madinah had witnessed the unanimity and firmness of the Anssâr they were confounded, and returned to the Qoraish with empty bags.

Death of A'mru B. A'bdud, and its Consequences.

The biographers of the lord of the righteous narrate that A'mru B. A'bdud was distinguished among the Arab tribes by his great impetuosity, perfect bravery, and skill in handling all the arms of war, so that if Rustam Dastân [the celebrated Persian hero] had attacked him he would have been defeated, and had Shohrâb [another hero] stepped into the list of contention with him he would have succumbed. The celebrity of A'mru for valour was such that the Arab warriors considered him a match for one thousand combatants. The writer of these lines has heard Sayyid A'li Najfi—Allah have mercy on him—utter the following words: 'I have read in a book that when A'mru B. A'bdud had in the Ghazwah of the Confederates crossed the ditch and shouted for a champion, none of the companions had come forward, whereon his lordship asked: "Why do you hesitate?" Thereon O'mar B. Alkhattâb opened his mouth with excuses on the part of the pro-

fessors of Islâm, and addressed his lordship the best of men as follows: "On a certain occasion we were with a number of the Qoraish, among whom was also A'mru B. A'bdud, travelling to Syria for the purpose of trading, and had a great quantity of goods, when all of a sudden about a thousand brigands barred the road against us, so that the owners of the caravan were in dread not only of losing their merchandise, but also their lives. When A'mru B. A'bdud had taken cognizance of this state of affairs, he unsheathed his sword, and, snatching up a piece of carpet for a shield, attacked the robbers like a furious lion, and put them all to flight, whereon the caravan continued its journey in safety." '

It is related that A'mru, having received a serious wound on the day of Bedr, had fled, and could not be present at the battle of Ohod. In the Ghazwah of the Confederates, however, he was desirous of making good his omission, and so recovering his old prestige, so that his name might again become celebrated among the Arabs, and his fame spread near and far. Accordingly one day, when the idolaters had got ready for a battle, and had reached the brink of the ditch, A'mru B. A'bdud, with a number of valiant Arabs —such as Dhurâr B. Alkhattâb, and Akramah B. Abu Jahl, and Naofel B. A'bdullah, and Hobeyrah B. Wohob, all of whom acknowledged A'mru's superiority—had discovered a narrow spot in the ditch, over which they leapt with their horses. In the *Raudztu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that Khâled B. Wolyd and Abu Sofyân B. Harb were with the Qoraish infidels, and Kanânah with the Bani Ghatta'fân, drawn up in battle array on the bank of the ditch, and remained stationary. A'mru asked Abu Sofyân: 'Are you not also coming over like ourselves?' The latter replied: 'If it should become necessary to cross over, we shall also do it.' As soon as A'mru had leapt over the fosse he stepped into the lists of bravery and exuberance and shouted for a champion; but as the professors of Islâm knew his bravery, fear paralyzed them, as if it had chased out all the blood from their bodies, and they remained standing motionless,

with their heads hanging down 'as if they had birds on them,' which words allude to the circumstance that in Arabia many camels are affected with scabs, which the crows remove with their beaks, so that when they are engaged in this operation the camel remains quiet for fear of scaring away the crows and thus retaining the scabs.

In short, when A'mru B. A'bdud challenged the professors of Islâm to send him a champion, and no one came forward, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—exclaimed: 'Is there a friend who will oppose the wickedness of this enemy of God?' Then A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—replied: 'O apostle of God, I shall fight him!' His lordship answered nothing; but according to another tradition he said: 'This is A'mru B. A'bdud!' The latter shouted for a second time, whereon A'li Murtadza over again asked for permission to attack him, but did not obtain it. A'mru now exclaimed for the third time: 'Is there no man among you who will step into the lists?' A'li then again asked to be allowed to fight him, and this time the prophet said: 'I permit it, O A'li!' When the former approached the latter, he handed to him the sword of God, surnamed Dhu-l-fiqâr, and put his own cuirass on him to protect his joy-bringing person from the javelins of misfortune. For the purpose of averting the *evil eye*,[316] he gave him his own turban, and it is recorded in the *Mostaqadzd* that, when he wrapped it round his head, he said: 'O God, protect him from him!'—*i.e.*, protect A'li from A'mru. According to another tradition he raised his blessed hands, saying: 'O great God, Thou hast taken from me O'baydah on the day of Bedr, and Hamzah Thou hast separated from me on the day of Ohod! O God, this is A'li, my brother and my cousin!' He also said: 'Do not destroy us one by one. Thou art the best of inheritore!' When his lordship the apostle had come to

[316] Literally *A'ynu-l-Kamâl*, 'eye of perfection' which is so maleficent that it can injure a person from a distance. See on this subject 'The Evil Eye, Amulets, etc.,' by E. Rehatsek, in the 'Journal of the Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society,' vol. x., p. 299 *seqq.*, 1875.

these words, A'li, the Amir of the true Believers—u. w. b.—advanced on foot, met A'mru on horseback on the battle-field, and said to him: 'A'mru, I have heard that thou hast said, "No one shall invite me to do three things without my undertaking to do one or all three of them."' A'mru replied: 'Yes, such is the case.' A'li continued: 'I invite thee to testify that there is no God but Allah, and to worship Him who is the Creator of men.' A'mru replied: 'Good cousin, let us put off this matter for another time.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—continued: 'I have another request. If thou comply therewith, it will be good for thee.' A'mru asked: 'What is it?' A'li the Commander of the Faithful said: 'Abstain from fighting against the professors of Islâm, return to thy country, and promise to aid Muhammad if he prevails over his enemies, but to let events take their course without interfering or enmity on thy part if the contrary takes place.' A'mru replied: 'The Qoraish women will say that, though I was able to keep my vow, I failed to do so, and returned home.' A'mru had, after his flight from the battle-field of Bedr, made a vow that he would not anoint himself with oil until he had slain his prophetic lordship. After hearing the refusal of A'mru, A'li the Amir of the true Believers said: 'There is yet another request.' A'mru asked. 'What is it?' The Commander of the Faithful said: 'That thou alight from thy horse to fight with me.' At these words A'mru laughed, and exclaimed: 'I never thought an Arab warrior would ask that from me. Return! Thou art yet young, and the time has not come for thee to enter the lists of contention with men.' According to another tradition, he said: 'Return, and let one of those two Qoraish Sheikhs—namely, Abu Bakr or O'mar—come.' He is also said to have uttered the following words: 'There are older men among thy uncles. Return thou in peace.' The tradition of [other] biographers is that A'mru said: 'I dislike to shed thy blood, especially as friendship had subsisted between thy father and me.' The Commander of the Faithful rejoined: 'If thou dislikest to shed my

blood, I like to shed thine!' At these words A'mru became incensed, alighted from his horse, stood up in front of it, and, with a drawn sword in his hand, kept gazing steadily at A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who covered his head with his shield, which, however, that dauntless warrior cleft in twain with one blow of his sword which might have split a rocky mountain. When the scimitar of that wicked infidel broke the shield, it grazed the blessed head of the Emam of the pious a little. Hereon that lion of attack eased with one stroke of the Dhu-l-fiqâr the body of that wretch from the burden of his head.

Let it not remain hidden that the account just given of the duel with A'mru B. A'bdud has been transcribed from biographical works. We also read in some chronicles that before the Lord A'li and A'mru had begun to fight, they made arrangements that neither of them should be succoured by anyone. They fought from forenoon till sunset without being able to vanquish each other. After the contest had thus been protracted, A'li Murtadza said to A'mru: 'Have we not agreed that no one should come to my or to thy aid?' A'mru asked: 'Then what has happened?' A'li replied: 'See, thy brother is coming behind thee!' Accordingly, A'mru looked to his rear, and thus his lordship the Commander of the Faithful snatched an opportunity to strike that accursed man in such a way with his sabre as to separate his thigh from his body. Hereon A'mru exclaimed: 'Boy, thou hast deceived me!' But the lord and receptacle of victory exclaimed: 'War is a deception!' Then A'mru threw his severed thigh towards the Amir of the Faithful, whereon that prince of saints amputated his head, and turned to other antagonists.

It is related that after slaying A'mru, A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—shouted the *Takbyr*, his lordship the apostle recognised the voice, and knew what had taken place. It is related that after the death of A'mru, Dhurárah B. Alkhattâb and Hobeyrah B. Abu Wohob approached A'li, who was ready to encounter them, but as soon as the eye of Dhurárah caught sight of the lion of attack, he preferred

flight to permanency, and being asked afterwards for the reason of his having fled so hastily, he replied: 'Because I had seen the figure of death with my own eyes.' Hobeyrah, nevertheless, stood for some time opposite to the A'mir, but at last also fled, and whilst Naofel B. A'bdullah Kakhzumi retreated he was thrown from his saddle into the ditch, where the Musalmâns stoned him, and he cried: 'It would be better to kill me [at once].' Accordingly his lordship the Amir [*i.e.*, A'li] took pity on him, entered the ditch, and cut him in twain with one stroke of his blade. It is said that when A'li the Amir of the Faithful—u. w. b—cut off the head of A'mru, he failed to take notice of his cuirass, which was very elegant. When A'mru's sister arrived on the spot, and saw that his arms as well as his accoutrements had remained untouched, she exclaimed: 'He can have been slain only by a noble-hearted peer!'

In short, A'li the Commander of the Faithful burnt the granaries of life of the enemies with the fire of his wrath, and returned with a countenance joyous like the lamp of the firmament to the lord of apostleship—u. w. b—and threw the head of A'mru B. A'bdud down at the blessed feet of his lordship, chanting with his wonderfully eloquent tongue some distichs, the last of which are the following:

> The worshippers of stone, their folly I have seen;
> The worshippers of the Lord of Muhammad and their rectitude;
> Will not God consider their religion,
> And their intention, O ye confederates?

It is related in biographical works that the apostle of God —u. w. b.—said with reference to the lion of God: 'The prowess of A'li on the day of the ditch was more excellent than the acts of my people [will be] till the day of the resurrection.' It is on record that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful waited upon his lordship the apostle, Abu Bakr and O'mar rose and kissed his head, whereon A'bdullah E. Masu'd exclaimed: 'God has caused A'li to fight for the Believers, and God is most high and wise.'

When Dhurâr B. Alkhattâb and Akramah B. Abu Jahl fled from the battle, joined their army, and informed it of

the murder of A'mru B. A'bdud and Naofel B. A'bdullah, Abu Sofyán fled with the Qoraish and the tribe Ghattafân, nor did they halt in any place till they arrived in A'qyq, whence they sent a man to buy the corpses of A'mru and of Naofel. His lordship said: 'We have no need of their wicked bodies. Let them be taken away.' The same or the next day the idolaters started together from A'qyq to Madinah. On the other hand, the Bani Qoryttah Jews, who had broken their covenant, grew bold, and fought in every direction. Only contests with arrows took place, however, between the antagonists, who were skirmishing from dawn till sunset along the banks of the ditch. Abu Sofyân had stationed a detachment opposite to the tent of the apostle, so that the professors of Islâm had no chance to move from their position. It is said that the battle raged so hotly on that day as to hinder the Musalmâns from holding their noon and afternoon prayers. But when the carnage had terminated, Bellâl was ordered to call the people to prayers in the usual manner, whereon the professors of Islâm congregated and made good their omission. According to a tradition of the Amir of the Faithful, the apostle of God said on that occasion: 'Allah has filled their houses and tombs with fire because they have kept us away from the middle and from the post-meridian prayers till sunset.' Meanwhile Na'ym B. Masu'd Ghattafâni waited, in consequence of the boundless mercy of God, upon the apostle, made his profession of the Faith and of obedience, so that afterwards, by a single stratagem of his, the chain of union between the idolaters and the Bani Qoryttah Jews was snapped, and the lamp of prosperity, which was apparently burning, became extinguished by the tempest of Divine wrath. The detailed circumstances of this affair are as follows: Na'ym B. Masu'd Ashja'y, who had spread the carpet of love between himself and the Qoraish, and also the Bani Qoryttah Jews, felt a yearning for Islâm in his heart, so that he waited between evening and bedtime upon the prince of the righteous—u. w. b. When the apostle asked

him for the reason of his visit, he replied: 'I come to trouble thee, because I believe in the truth of thy apostolate, and will do anything for thee. I bear witness to the truth of what thou sayest, O apostle of Allah. The people are not aware of my faith in Islâm, and believe what I say. I swear that I shall do whatever thou commandest.' His lordship asked: 'Art thou able to throw discord among the infidels and to destroy their league?' He replied: 'I can; but thou must allow me to speak whatever I like. His lordship permitted him to do so, and dismissed him with the words: 'War is a deception.' Then he went to the Bani Qoryttah Jews, and said: 'You know the sincerity of my affection and the perfect love I bear towards you.' They assented, and Na'ym continued: 'The Qoraish and the Ghattafân have come to attack Muhammad, and you aid and abet their intentions, although you have no connection with them, because their country is distant. If they vanquish Muhammad they will have accomplished their object. But consider that your own habitations are near, and that your families, goods, chattels, are here, and that if perchance the Arab tribes get tired of war and depart without having defeated Muhammad, they will abandon you to his vengeance and that of his companions, who will utterly extirpate you for having broken your covenant with the Musalmâns.' The Jews replied: 'Thou hast shown affection and kindness, but what can we do in this matter?' Na'ym continued: 'It will be proper for you first of all to take hostages from among the principal Qoraish and the nobles of the Ghattafân, and then to wage war against Muhammad. The reason for this step is, that in case they should be frustrated in their aim, and intend to return to their country, and Muhammad were to attack you, they would be compelled to afford you their aid for the sake of protecting their chiefs, and would thus keep off the impending catastrophe from you.' The Jews replied: 'What thou hast said is perfectly just and right. We shall act up to thy advice.' After Na'ym had thus relieved his mind

about the Bani Qoryttah Jews, he met the Qoraish princes and played off another stratagem, by first assuring them of his affection and devotedness, and then saying: 'You know the enmity and hatred I have vowed against Muhammad and his companions, but I possess information about the Bani Qoryttah, which I shall impart to you on condition that you keep it secret, and reveal it not to any of them. The Qoraish agreed, and he continued: 'Let it be known to you that the Jews have repented of their having broken their treaty with Muhammad, and have sent him a message that if he could pardon them they would surrender into his power a number of Qoraish and Ghattafân chiefs under the pretence of keeping them as hostages, but really for the purpose of their decapitation, and that after this they would join his army and unite therewith to attack the rest. Muhammad, on his part, agreed that the breach might be made good by this means.' According to another tradition, Na'ym said to the idolaters: 'I was in the assembly of the Bani Qoryttah when their courier returned from Muhammad and brought the news that he was inclined for peace.' According to another, he said to the idol-worshippers: 'You know that Muhammad never lies, and I heard him utter the following words: "Peace is to be established between me and the Bani Qoryttah, on condition that we give leave to the Bani An-natzyr to return to their habitations, and that they themselves, on their part, surrender to us the hostages they will receive from the Qoraish."' At all events, Na'ym did his best to persuade them not to give any hostages if requested by the Bani Qoryttah to do so. After that this intelligent and cunning man left the Qoraish, visited the Ghattafân, and said to them what he had said to all the other idolaters. The day on which Na'ym imparted to them that heart-burning information happened to be a Friday, and it made such an impression on the mind of Abu Sofyân that he sent a person to the Bani Qoryttah with the message: 'Our stay in this country has been long, and our quadrupeds are lost. We must, therefore, make preparations this evening for a

battle, and to-morrow attack the enemy together; because we may possibly advance our interests in this way.' The Jews replied: 'To-morrow is the Sabbath, and on that day we do no work. You also know that some of our ancestors have been grievously punished for transacting business on that day. We are, nevertheless, at all times ready to aid you against the enemy, if you will surrender some nobles of your people into our power, because we apprehend that, if the siege be protracted to some length, you will be disinclined to stay, and will return, thus leaving us at the mercy of Muhammad and his companions. If, however, the chiefs of your nation are with us when you intend to depart, and Muhammad purposes to take vengeance on us, you will be compelled to aid us [for the sake of your chiefs].' When the infidels had heard this answer of the Jews they unanimously exclaimed: 'What Na'ym B. Masu'd has said is nothing but the truth.' Accordingly, they sent another message to the Bani Qoryttah of the following purport: 'We shall give you none of our people. If you come forward and fight, it will be well; but if not, we shall return to our country and leave you to make up your difference with Muhammad as best you may.' The Jews then said: 'By Allah! Na'ym has spoken the truth. We have nothing at all to do with Muhammad, and shall not fight him.' After discord had thus been thrown among the opponents by Divine will, and by the stratagem of Na'ym B. Masu'd Ghattafâni, they returned dismayed and confused to their own places and habitations from the vicinity of Madinah.

Jâber B. A'bdullah the Anssâri says: 'His worship the apostle—u. w. b.—prayed three consecutive days to the Lord of unity for the flight of the confederates. This request was responded to on a Wednesday between the two prayers of the latter part of the day, and the Boundless Giver sent a hurricane which shook and confused their army so that even the tent-pegs of the infidels were uprooted, and their pots turned over. Every raw intention they had entertained remained unmatured, so that they

returned disappointed and hopeless to their country.' Some say that Allah the Most High and Glorious had sent an angel to pull out the pegs from the tents of the professors of darkness and to extinguish their fires, so that they had no other remedy but flight, and the blessed verse, 'O true believers, remember the favour of Allah towards you when armies of infidels came against you, and we sent against them a wind, and hosts [of angels] which ye saw not, and Allah beheld that which ye did,'[317] confirms the event which produced such effects.

Concerning the angels there is a tradition of Muhammad Ebn Esahâq to the following purport: In the mosque of Kufah a young man said to Khodayfah Alyemeny: 'O Abu A'bdullah, blessed are ye who have seen the prophet of Allah! Had we been able to meet his lordship, we would have become as the dust on the road to get him to place his foot on us.' Khodayfah, however, became angry at these words, and said: 'Thou liest! For ere this better men than you have been in the service of the prophet of Allah, and have not acted in that way.' Then he began to narrate the events of the night of the Confederates, and said: 'I swear by God, during that night we suffered so much misery and hunger that God the Most High and Glorious is alone aware of it. During that night his holy and prophetic lordship rose from sleep, performed several prayer-flexions, and said: "Is there anyone who will bring information about the people, that Allah the Most High may make him my companion in paradise?"' Khodayfah continues: 'But on account of our intense hunger and fear of [exposing ourselves to] the cold, not one of us responded to the call of his lordship. Accordingly, he again prayed, and then repeated his question, which had not been responded to. Then he called three or four men by name, and some noble and excellent companions report that they answered as follows: "We take refuge with God and His prophet from this misery, to rouse us up from our place and to send us to another." When, however, he called out

[317] Qurân, ch. xxxiii. 9.

my name, I replied: "I await thy commands, O apostle of God!" Then he asked: "Canst thou this night watch over us, to be with us in the morn of the resurrection?" I said: "Yes, O apostle of God, I hear and obey."' In some traditions it is related that Khodayfah said: 'When the apostle of God first challenged his companions no one rose, though I was also among those addressed. But when he at last called me, and I complied, he said: "Khodayfah, what hindered thee from rising, although thou hast heard my words?" I replied: "Hunger and cold, O apostle of God." At these words his lordship smiled, and said: "Come nearer." I obeyed, and his lordship rubbed his blessed hand on my breast and between my shoulders, uttering with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: "O Lord God, protect him from those who are before and behind him, and from those on his right or left side."' According to another tradition, he added: 'And from those who are above and below him.' 'And, by God! the fear of hunger and cold abandoned me. After that his lordship said: "Go among the people, and bring me information about them, in what state they are, and thou must do nothing until thou hast seen me."' Khodayfah continues: 'Accordingly I took my arms and crossed the ditch, but felt so warm that I fancied I had entered a bath. When I arrived near the idolaters I concealed myself in the rear of a tree, and perceived that they had, with a thousand stratagems, kindled a fire for Abu Sofyân, as the wind and storm were raging in their camp beyond all conception. Abu Sofyân turned sometimes one, and sometimes the other, side to the fire to warm it, and I had a mind to shoot an arrow at him; but the injunction of the apostle restrained me. I also beheld A'lqamah B. A'lâmah, who shouted: "O family of A'ass, the wind and frost are killing me." After that the army of God came, projecting large stones, which, however, the idolaters warded off with their shields. Then the fires of the idolaters were extinguished by the tornado of calamity, and their hearts withered by the blasts of misery. Abu Sofyân, moved by what was taking place, exclaimed: "O

Qoraish people, our sojourn in this region was long, and our cattle have perished, the Bani Qoryttah have shown us enmity, our weapons have become useless, and this wind distresses us much; accordingly, I take my departure." Then he went to his camel, and, being in great haste, he mounted it without untying its legs. On that occasion A'kramah B. Abu Jahl exclaimed: "O Abu Sofyân, thou art the chief of the people! Where art thou going and leaving them in this calamity?" Abu Sofyân then alighted from shame and confusion, loosed the knees of his camel, took the bridle in his hand, walked through the camp, and shouted: "Make haste to march!" Accordingly all the Qoraish, the Ghattafân, the Kanânah, and the Qorârah departed in grief and disappointment, so that not one of the infidels, who had come with designs upon the property and lives of the Musalmâns, remained in that region.'

Khodayfah says: 'When the enemies were engaged in loading [their baggage on the cattle] I departed, and on my way I perceived twenty cavaliers with white turbans, and two of them said to me: "Tell thy master that God the Most High has warded off from him the wickedness of his enemies." When I arrived in camp, in my old place, I again felt cold as before. I found his lordship at prayers, and he beckoned to me with his hand to come nearer. I obeyed. His lordship had a very broad and big piece of cloth, a corner whereof he put upon me, whereon I became so warm that I fell asleep. When he had finished his prayers he said: "Arise, O sleeper!" Then I awoke and narrated to him all I had seen.'

It is related that after the flight of the opponents his holy and prophetic lordship turned to his companions and said: 'After this they will not come to fight you, but you will wage war against them.' Accordingly, the Qoraish obtained no other opportunity to attack the Musalmâns, so that at last the apostle of God marched with the army of Islâm to Mekkah, conquered that blessed region, and vanquished his antagonists, as will be narrated in these pages if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Some Events and several Miracles that took place during the Time of the War of the Ditch.

Among the incidents of the war of the ditch that which happened to Sa'd B. Moa'adh, is described as follows: A'ayshah—may Allah reward her!—said: 'In those days the enemies had on a certain occasion arrived opposite the apostle of God, and were engaged in fighting. At that time I was with the mother of Sa'd B. Moa'adh in the Hârethah-fort, which is one of the best strongholds of Madinah, when my eye suddenly alighted on Sa'd B. Moa'adh, who was passing by dressed in a short coat of mail, which was insufficient to protect either his arms or legs, he being a man of tall stature and corpulent. I was sorry for the imperfections of this cuirass, but his mother said: "Make haste to meet the apostle of God, for thou hast been so tardy that thou art now very far from his lordship." I said: "Omm Sa'd, how would it be if thy son had armour sufficient to cover his body?" His mother replied: "God foreordaineth what He liketh."' And he was predestined to attain martyrdom by an arrow-wound. Accordingly, when Sa'd had reached the bank of the ditch, Janân B. Alu'rfah shot an arrow at him, saying: 'Take that! I am the son of Alu'rfah!' According to another tradition, Sa'd exclaimed: 'May Allah burn thy face with fire!' That arrow had, however, struck his eye and broke off. When he saw that the wound was a dangerous one he turned to the Qiblah of prayer, uttering the words: 'O God, if Thy apostle is again to have a war with the Qoraish, then deliver me from the grasp of death, because I love nothing more than to fight a nation that accuses the apostle of falsehood, and has expelled him from the sanctuary of Mekkah; or else respite me till I behold the Bani Qoryttah in misery, according to my heart's desire.' His prayer was responded to, the blood ceased to flow from his wound, and he lived to fight against the Bani Qoryttah, whereon his wound opened again, so that he died, as will be narrated further on.

In the *Moa'jum Ttarâni* it is related that in the war of the ditch there was a young man present who had just married, and had in the middle of the day requested the lord of the pious and model of the righteous to [allow him to] pay a visit to his family. After obtaining permission, this young man put on his armour and departed. When he reached his house he beheld his wife standing among a number of men, and in the exuberance of his jealousy he assaulted her, whereon the poor woman said: 'Do nothing till thou seest what is in the house.' He accordingly forbore to slay his wife, and stepped into his house, where he beheld a snake coiled up on his bed, which he forthwith snatched off with his lance and went out. The serpent struggled awhile on the top of the spear and expired, but the young man likewise died, and no one knew whether he had first expired or the reptile. When this event was brought to the notice of his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—he said: 'Plead for pardon for your companion.' Then he added: 'In Madinah there are a number of serpents who have made profession of the Faith. If you obtain cognizance of one of them do not approach it [to kill it] for three days, but if it shows itself after that time to you, then kill it, because it is a devil.'

Let it not remain hidden to the intelligent that it is not possible to narrate all the events of the war of the ditch in this abridgment, and that therefore the musky reed will briefly record only two miracles, confirmed by two truthful witnesses, to establish the claim of his holy and prophetic lordship [to thaumaturgy]; but glory pertains to Allah, and grace comes from Him.

The first miracle is, according to the biographers of the prophet, recorded in the following tradition, which they possess, of Jâber B. A'bdullah the Anssari, who said: 'In those days, when we were engaged in digging the trench, I perceived one day the signs of hunger on the blessed countenance of his lordship. I therefore went to my house, where I had kept a fat kid which might afford a slender repast. This kid I slaughtered and placed the flesh

into a pot with the intention of regaling the apostle—u. w. b.—therewith. I also ground one measure of barley into flour and ordered it to be leavened. Then I departed from my house and made haste to wait on his lordship. I informed him that I had prepared some food, and expressed my hope that he would condescend to be my guest. His lordship asked: "How much food is there?" I stated the amount, and his lordship said: "Very well." He added: "Go and tell thy wife not to take away the pot from the fire, nor the bread out from the oven."' This is narrated in the *Raudzatu-l-ahbâb*, according to which Jâber also said: 'After that he invited those at the ditch, exclaiming: "Jâber has prepared some food for you. Come!" Accordingly I went home, and said to my wife: "Woe betide thee! The apostle of God is coming with a number of the people of the ditch!" She asked: "Is his lordship aware of the quantity of food we have?" I said: "Yes." She replied: "God and His apostle know better." When the apostle of Allah arrived in our house he gave a signal, whereon the people entered in crowds. He approached in his own holy person the pot and the leaven, throwing into each of them some of the saliva of his Kawther-like mouth,[318] invoking a benediction thereon from the Lord of glory. Then he ordered me to put the bread into the oven, and when it was baked he took it out, and having likewise poured into a dish the soup with the meat, he seated ten men around it, who partook of the repast and were filled. In this manner he satisfied the hunger of nearly one thousand men, and when he left the pot and the oven he ordered us to cover the apertures of both. After returning to them we found the oven again full of bread and the pot of meat, as before, and by order of his lordship we ate our fill, and sent some food also to our neighbours. When, however, the apostle had left the house with the people of the ditch, the food had likewise been consumed.' Some relate that Jâber had spoken as follows: 'By order of the prophet

[318] This is the name of a river in Paradise, and also the title of ch. cviii. of the Qurân.

we took the bread from the oven and the flesh from the pot, distributing the food among the men till they were all filled and went away; the bread, however, and the meat remained as before.'[319]

The second miracle was as follows, according to the traditions of Wâqidi and Muhammad E. Esahâq: It is related that the daughter of Bashir B. Sa'd has said: 'My mother, the daughter of Ruahah, gave me one measure of dates, telling me to take them to my father and uncle for dinner. While I was going in search of them the apostle of God perceived me and said: "Come here, my little girl." When I reached him, he asked: "What hast thou here?" I said: "I have some dates to carry to my father." The apostle of God stretched forth his hand, and I placed some dates on his blessed palm. He then ordered me to spread out a cloth, into which he wrapped the dates, and ordered a man to exclaim: "Come, all ye people of the ditch." The man obeyed, whereon all the people came, and ate as much of those dates as they liked. Then they departed; but still dates enough remained to fall over the borders of the cloth.' Let it not remain hidden and concealed to the intelligent that the wonders and miracles which took place in those times are numerous, and that they are recorded in biographies and chronicles.

The siege is by some stated to have lasted twenty-seven, and according to the *Seir Kazrûni* twenty-four days. According to a trustworthy book, it appears that the opponents departed from the vicinity of Madinah after a siege of twenty-nine days. It is said that in the Ghazwah of the Ditch six men of the Anssâr attained the glory of martyrdom, and in some biographies their names are recorded as follows: Sa'd B. Moa'adh, and Anus B. Awus, and A'bdullah B. Sohal, and Ttofayl B. An-nu'mân, and

[319] This story has probably been told so as to put Muhammad on a par with Eliâs [Elijah] and I'sa [Jesus].—See Part I., vol. ii., of this work, pp. 31, 169. According to tradition Moslems believe that their prophet worked miracles, but it appears from the Qurân that he claimed no such power.

Ka'b Zayd.[320] Of the idolaters three individuals departed to the infernal regions, namely: A'mru B. A'bdud, and Naofel B. A'bdullah Makhzûmy, and O'thmân B. Moniah of the Bani A'bdu-d-dàr, who was struck by an arrow in this Ghazwah, and on his arrival in Mekkah he surrendered his life to the possessor of hell on account of that wound.

The Ghazwah of the Bani Qoryttah.

When the breeze of Divine favour which wafted only from the spirit of Allah commenced to blow, and the morn of prosperity began to dawn in the orient of hope, the adherents of rebellion and sin, whose head and chief was Abu Sofyân, returned overthrown and disappointed, as was narrated above. His holy lordship returned with his companions to Madinah, and according to the tradition of Ebn A'bbâs—u. w. b.—his lordship entered the house of [his daughter] Fattimah Zohra, the princess of the women of this world—u. w. b.—washed his august head and body from dust and dirt, and engaged in his matutinal prayers. After he had completed these, Jebrâil the faithful, having a white turban on his head, and riding on a mule, arrived, his countenance being full of dust. His lordship then rose, cleansed his face therefrom, and Jebrâil said: 'O Muhammad, may Allah the Most High pardon thee for having put away thy arms, whereas the angels have not yet done so!' According to another tradition he said: 'O apostle of Allah, puttest thou away thy arms?' He replied: 'Yes.' Jebrâil continued: 'May God the Most Magnificent and Glorious pardon thee, because the angels have not put away their arms forty days and nights.' Then he said: 'O Muhammad, arise to strike the idolaters who are possessors of the book, namely, the Bani Qoryttah [Jews]. By Allah! I am going to batter their fort and to break it to pieces like the egg of a hen struck against a stone.' Accordingly, the apostle ordered Ballâl to proclaim

[320] Only five names, unless the conjunction 'and' be inserted between the two last.

in Madinah that no obedient man should recite that day's afternoon prayers, except among the Bani Qoryttah. Then he called for A'li, gave him the banner, sent him with a crowd of Mohâjer to the vanguard, and despatched the companions in separate detachments after him. A number of the A'bdu-l-ashhal and of the Bani An-najjâr also marched with the army. Some of the companions imagined that the prohibition of his lordship the receptacle of termination from afternoon prayers had been superfluous, and accordingly, when the time for the second prayers had arrived, they held them on the road, whilst others who had taken the command in the strict sense held them among the Bani Qoryttah. Neither of these two parties were either blamed or approved.

After A'li had departed, his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—put on his cuirass and his helmet, took his shield on his back and his spear into his hand. According to a certain tradition, he mounted his own donkey called Yaghfûr; but, according to another, he rode his horse called Najyf, ordering two more to be kept ready. All the companions had prepared themselves for war and accompanied his lordship, Seiddyq riding on his right and Fârûq on his left, the principal Mohâjer and noble Anssar preceding him. Khâled, the brother of Ballâl, also took a spear in his hand, and walked in front of that prince's charger [erect] like a spear. His lordship prayed and recited the Qurân. The whole army of Islâm amounted to three thousand men, who had thirty-six horses.[321] While the army was marching, the tribe Bani An-najjâr made its appearance, fully armed and drawn up in battle array, and when his lordship asked them: 'Who has ordered you to arm yourselves?' they replied: 'Wohyah Kalby, riding a mule covered with satin, worked in with precious stones, had come to us, saying: "Arm yourselves, because this moment the apostle of God will come in sight."' His lordship said: 'That was Jebrâil, who was going to pro-

[321] It may be observed that in every campaign the number of horses was very small.

duce an earthquake in the fort of the Bani Qoryttah.' Then the apostle—u. w. b.—marched with his companions, and all reached their destinations between evening and bedtime.

There is a tradition of A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—that he said: 'When we arrived near the fort of the Bani Qoryttah, a man who was standing on the top of it perceived me, and exclaimed: "Verily, the murderer of A'mru has arrived;" and I heard another saying: "A'li has killed A'mru, who is resuscitated in hell;" and I replied: "Praise be to Allah, who has manifested Islâm and extirpated idolatry."' It is related that when A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—arrived at the foot of the stronghold of the Bani Qoryttah he erected the standard on the ground, whilst the Jews on the top of the fort derided and reviled his lordship the best of men. A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—then left Qotâdah in charge of the banner, went to meet the Musttafa—u. w. b.—and spoke to him as follows: 'O apostle of God, do not go near the fort of the Jews, because God the Most High will soon put them to shame.' His lordship rejoined: 'I fancy thou hast heard them say something that might displease me.' A'li replied in the affirmative, and his lordship continued: 'When they see me they will not utter those words.' And, approaching the fort, the apostle of God said: 'O ye brothers of monkeys and of swine, we have arrived, and the morn of those who accept the warning has dawned.' According to another tradition, he said: 'Move off, for God will move you off.' The Jews replied: 'O father of Qâsim, thou hast been neither a fool nor a reviler; what has happened that thou art such this day?' When his lordship heard these words he retired on account of the great shame he felt, and they are said to have made such an impression upon him that he dropped the lance he was holding in his blessed hand, and the *Reda* fell to the ground from his blessed back. Asyd B. Khadzyr exclaimed: 'O enemies of God, we shall not leave the gate of this fort until we have starved you to death; and now you resemble those foxes

who cannot be expelled from their hole.' The Jews replied: 'O Khadzyr, we are thy friends, and not of the Khasraj; nor did we expect such treatment at thy hands. Asyd replied: 'Between you and me there is neither treaty nor love, and Islâm has severed all treaties.' After that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss to shoot arrows at them, and Sa'd says; 'On that day I was shooting arrows till the evening, and was so engaged also during one hour of the night. The apostle remained quietly sitting in a house, and around him were also those, drawn up in battle array, who possessed horses. When his holy and prophetic lordship gave me permission to depart, I returned to the camp. At that time our food consisted of dates which Sa'd B. A'bâdah had loaded on his own camels and sent. As we were eating them the apostle of God exclaimed: "Dates are good food!"'

After fifteen or, according to other traditions, twenty-five days and nights had elapsed since the beginning of the war and siege, God the Most High and Magnificent inspired the hearts of the Jews with terror, so that they ceased fighting and sent Nyâsh B. Qays to the apostle of God with the following message: 'We have decided to emigrate like the Bani An-natzyr. Therefore do not shed our blood, that we may take our families and children with whatever our camels are able to bear, except arms, and may depart from this country.' His lordship was unwilling to agree, whereon they sent another message of the following purport: 'We shall abandon our goods and chattels. Only allow us to take our wives and children by their hands and go to another place.' This demand was likewise abortive, and his lordship said: 'You must surrender unconditionally.' Nyâsh then returned with this answer to his people. The Jews were much dismayed and confused; therefore Ka'b B. Asyd, who was their chief, assembled the most prominent men of the Bani Qoryttah. In that assembly, also, Hay B. Akhttâb, who had entered the fort on account of the treaty he had made with Ka'b, was present. Ka'b

spoke as follows: 'O ye Jews, I swear by God ye all know that Muhammad is His prophet, but from envy you have till this day made neither a profession of the Faith nor a promise to obey Muhammad. Now I propose three things to you, with one of which you must comply.' They asked: 'What are they?' He said: 'First, all of you who have studied the Toratah must, in consequence of your knowledge, profess the Faith and take hold of the skirts of obedience to Muhammad, that your property, lives and baggage may remain safe and protected from the vicissitudes of these times.' The Jews said: 'We cannot apostatize from our religion, and prefer another book to the Toratah.' Ka'b continued: 'If this appears difficult to you, then let us kill our wives and children with our own hands, sally out and fight, so that if we are conquered they will not suffer misery and humiliation after us; but if we are successful we shall not be at a loss to find other wives and children.' The Bani Qoryttah, however, rejoined: 'What excuse can there be for murdering those innocent and unfortunate beings, and who will have the heart to kill them? Indeed, what pleasure can we have after their loss, and what enjoyment of life without their company?' He continued: 'If you do not agree to my proposal, then let us attack Muhammad and his companions in the night, because this is the eve of the Sabbath and they are off their guard.' The Bani Qoryttah replied: 'How can we violate the sanctity of the Sabbath, considering that ere this a company of the children of Esrâyl have done so and have been annihilated by God the Most High and Glorious?'

In some biographical works it is recorded that Ebn Asyd said to the people: 'To-morrow is the Sablath day, and the professors of Islâm are at ease concerning us. It will therefore be proper suddenly to attack them and to overwhelm them.' The Bani Qoryttah rejoined: 'How can we break the Sabbath?' And repeating their former excuse, they refused to comply. After the Jews had fallen into this distress, they requested his lordship to permit Abu-l-bâbah,

who was their friend and confederate, to speak to them concerning their affairs. Permission having been given, Abu-l-bábah entered the fort, and was met by the Jews, whose wives and children assembled around them, lamenting so piteously that he had compassion for them. The nobles of the Bani Qoryttah asked him: 'Thinkest thou that we ought to surrender unconditionally to Muhammad or not?' Abu-l-bábah said 'Yes,' but at the same time made a signal to his own people, which meant: 'There is no other way but to kill.' Abu-l-bábah says: 'That very moment I repented, and desired to revoke what I had done, whereon Ka'b asked me: "What is the matter with thee?" I replied: "I swear by God and the apostle that I have committed a treachery." Then I came down from the fort, and was so overpowered by my feelings that my moustache was wet from my tears, and shame impeded me to meet either the apostle or my friends, so I departed to Madinah and entered the mosque opposite to Omm Solmah's house. I entered, and, tying myself to the threshold, said: "Let no one take notice of me except during the times of prayer, that my repentance may become acceptable to the Lord of Glory."' It is said that he remained thus tied up for several days and nights, but his daughter came [occasionally] and placed dates in his mouth. When the apostle of Allah became aware of his case, he said: 'Had he first come to me, I would have pleaded for his pardon, but now I shall not liberate him until God accepts his repentance.' According to a tradition, a revelation descended after fifteen days concerning the penance of Abu-l-babah.

When the Bani Qoryttah were enfeebled and distressed they came down [from their fort] in obedience to the command of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—who ordered Muhammad B. Moslamah to fetter the hands of the men, and A'bdullah B. Sullam to take possession of their women, children, arms, goods and chattels. In that fort four thousand sheep, five hundred swords, five hundred cuirasses, three hundred shields, with a great quantity of household furniture and vessels, were found, as well as

innumerable camels, oxen, and other cattle. On that occasion the nobles and chiefs of the Awus hastened to wait upon the lord of this world, and said: 'O apostle of God, thou hast shown mercy and kindness to the Bani Qaynuqaa' who were friends of A'bdullah B. Abu Salûl, and hast spared the lives of seven hundred men, four hundred of whom wore cuirasses. Vouchsafe now to show mercy to the Bani Qoryttah, who are our friends, and have repented of having broken their covenant and to forgive their transgressions and crimes.' His lordship, however, made no reply to the Bani Awus, till their solicitations had exceeded all bounds, when he asked: 'Will you agree that one of yourselves make a decision concerning them?' They said: 'Yes, O apostle of God.' He continued: 'That man will be Sa'd B. Moa'adh. We shall do whatever he decides in this matter.' Then the apostle of God sent a person to Madinah to bring Sa'd, his presence at the Ghazwah having been prevented by a wound. Some persons mounted him on a donkey and started with him to wait upon his lordship, but before they had reached the noble assembly of the prophetic lord, a number of the Bani Awus said to him: 'O father of A'mru, the apostle of God has left to thy option the judgment concerning the Bani Qoryttah. They are thy friends, who have aided thee in peace and in war They have surrendered everything, and their only hope centres in thee. Thou hast seen what laudable efforts Ebn Abu Salûl had made in favour of his confederates the Bani Qaynuqaa'. Now we request thee to employ similar efforts of mercy and compassion for saving the lives of the Bani Qoryttah.' Though the Bani Awus had long spoken in this strain, Sa'd make no reply, but at last, when their importunities had become very pressing, he said: 'This is not the time for reproaching Sa'd with having been remiss in matters concerning God the Most High and Glorious.' Dzohâk B. Khalifah, who had heard these words, and also Moa'tab B. Qashyr exclaimed: 'Woe to my friends!' And A'attub B. Ommyah lamented: 'No trace of my people will remain at the end of this day.'

When Sa'd B. Moa'adh reached the august assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—the latter turned to those who were present, and said: 'Rise to your chief!' Then a number of the Bani A'bdu-l-ashhal who were of the tribe of Sa'd rose and took him down from the animal he was riding. When he had taken a seat, a portion of the Bani Awus who had no right to speak in the assembly of his lordship [nevertheless] said: 'O father of A'mru, the prophet of Allah has given into thy hands the bridle of judgment concerning the Bani Qoryttah. Remember the past obligations which they have conferred upon thee, so as to deal leniently and mercifully with them.' Sa'd replied to the Bani Awus: 'Do you make an agreement and promise before the Lord Most High that you will assent to my decision, and will not transgress it?' All answered affirmatively. Then he turned towards his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—but refrained from an excess of self-importance and complacency to address him [in particular], and said: 'Everyone here will assent to my judgment.' Whereon the apostle of God said: 'The judgment will be as thou decidest.' Sa'd continued: 'My decision is that all their men be killed, and the yoke of servitude be placed upon the necks of their wives and children, and that their property be distributed among the Musalmáns.' The apostle of God then exclaimed: 'Sa'd, thou hast judged them as God the Most High and Glorious has judged them from the height of the seven heavens.' After that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered the hands of the Bani Qoryttah to be tied to their backs, and they were taken thus to Madinah, to be imprisoned in the Serái Asámatah. Their wives and children were confined in the house of Zamlah, the daughter of Háreth, who was a woman of the Bani An-najjár. Several donkey-loads of dates were given to the prisoners; but as the hands of the Jews had been tied by the strong cords of the law, they fell upon their faces, picked the dates up with their mouths, and thus consumed them. During the night preceding the day of their removal to non-existence

they were till morning engaged in reciting the Toratah, admonishing each other to patience and constancy. The apostle of God ordered a trench to be dug in a suitable place, and as they were brought out in squads from the house of Asâmatah, A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—and Zobeyr set about striking off their heads, by order of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—so that the blood of those unfortunate wretches flowed into the trench. It is related that when those people were being led to the place of execution they asked Ka'b B. Asyd: 'Knowest thou where we are being taken to?' He replied: 'You argue in every place! Do you not perceive that no company taken away has returned? By Allah! no other thing but slaughter awaits you, nor have I called you for any other business.' They would, however, not believe, and continued: 'Ka'b, this is not the time for reviling and reproaching us.' When Hay B. Akhttab was brought with tied hands to his lordship—u. w. b.—the latter exclaimed: 'O enemy of God, at last the Most High and Glorious has given thee into my power, and has made me thy judge.' He replied: 'I do not blame myself for having borne enmity to thee. I desired to exalt myself, but God the Most High has given thee the victory, and there is no remedy. Calamities like this have often befallen the children of Esrayl.' At that time the lion of attack—u. w. b.—unsheathed the Dhu-l-fiqâr for the purpose of slaying him, whereon Hay said: 'The death of a noble by the hand of a noble!' But A'li replied: 'The wicked slay the good, and the latter the former; but woe betide those by whose hands the good fall, and happy is he whom the wicked kill.' Hay said: 'What thou hast spoken is true. I beseech thee not to take off my robe from my body.' A'li rejoined: 'That is easier to me than to kill thee.' Then Hay stretched out his neck, and the Amir of the Faithful—u. w. b.—despatched him with his scimitar. After that Ka'b B. Asyd was brought with his hands tied on his neck to the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—who said: 'Ka'b, why have you not profited by the advice of the youth who ordered and recommended you

to follow me, saying: "When you see Muhammad, convey to him my salutation"?' Ka'b replied: 'O father of Qâsim, I swear by the truth of the Toratah that, had the Jews not been obstinate and headstrong to assert that Ka'b professes the Faith for fear of death and the sword, I would have believed and followed thee; but I remained in the Jewish religion from shame.' Accordingly, at a signal from his lordship, he was also caused to join his friends [in death]. On that day A'li—u. w. b.—and Zobeyr were till the evening engaged in slaying the Bani Qoryttah, and when the night set in the lamp of life of those who yet remained [to be executed] was extinguished by torch-light. It is said that on this occasion the women of the Bani Qoryttah were hoping his holy and prophetic lordship would accept either ransom or tribute, and would spare the lives of their men; when, however, they were executed all the females tore their garments, cut off their hair, walked with bare heads, wept bloody tears, their lamentations and shouts ascending to the sky, and Zobeyr B. Mâttyâ, of the Bani Qoryttah, who was an aged and experienced man, and had seen the reverses of fortune in this world, endeavoured to comfort them with the refreshing showers of friendly advice. It is related that Thabet B. Qays B. Shammâs the Anssâri had been captured on the day of the battle, and that Zobeyr B. Mâttya had freed him from the disgrace of bondage, and had treated him kindly. In the war of the Bani Qoryttah, Thabet met Zobeyr, and asked: 'Knowest thou me?' Zobeyr replied: 'How could one like me not recognise one like thee? Thâbet continued: 'Now I desire to requite thy kindness.' Zobeyr replied: 'He is indeed noble who returns mercy for past favours.' Then Thâbet went to the apostle of God, and said: 'I am under great obligations to Zobeyr, and now I wish to show him my gratitude. If therefore the august mind of your prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—deems fit, you will give Zobeyr to me.' His lordship answered: 'I give him to thee.' But when Thâbet informed Zobeyr of this [gift],

the latter said: 'What enjoyment can an old man have in this life when he is separated from his wife and child?' Then Thábet again waited upon the prince of existences—u. w. b.—and besought him to release the family and children of Zobeyr from the bonds of servitude. This request was also granted, and when the little old Jew was informed thereof, he said: 'If my family have no property how can they live, and what pleasure can I derive from them?' Thábet again obtained the honour of admittance into the noble assembly, and pleaded for a gift of property, which his lordship also granted. When Thâbet conveyed this news to Zobeyr, the latter asked: 'What has become of him whose countenance was pure like a Chinese mirror, the aspect whereof demented the moon-faced and sun-like virgins of the tribes, namely, of Ka'b B. Asyd?' Thábet replied: 'He has been killed.' Zobeyr continued: 'Where has the grandee of the town and of the country gone to, who invited the people to war, who fed them when they were hungry, and felt pity for the destitute and the poor, namely, Hay B. Akhttáb?' Thâbet replied: 'He also has been slain.' Zobeyr further asked: 'How is that intelligent and acute individual, who dispersed every assembly he liked, and solved every difficulty he was bent upon, namely, Nabâsh[322] B. Qays?' He replied: 'That man has likewise departed into non-existence.' In this manner he inquired about every one of the chiefs, the nobles, the U'lâma, and good men among the Bani Qoryttah, but being informed that all of them had been executed, he said: 'O Thábet, I swear by God that it is worse to be separated from one's friends than to be dead. Therefore I adjure thee by the old obligations thou art under to me to cause also me to join my intimate friends by means of the swcrd.' Thábet now became angry, and complied with his request. Some, however, relate that Thâbet surrendered Zobeyr to Zobeyr B. Ala'wwâm, who struck off his head.

It is related that the number of the slain of the Bani

[322] *Supra* Nyâsh, having, in lieu of one, two dots under the second letter.

Qoryttah amounted to seven hundred men, but it has also been estimated higher and lower than this. When the apostle of Allah had terminated the execution of the Bani Qoryttah, the wound of Sa'd B. Moa'adh—u. w. b.—again opened, and when he was in his last agony his lordship was present at his bedside, and, placing his head on his own blessed knees, said: 'O God, Sa'd has suffered in Thy cause, has believed Thy prophet, and has fulfilled every duty imposed upon him by Islâm. Take, therefore, his spirit in the best way, as Thou takest the spirits of Thy friends!' Sa'd, hearing the voice of his prophetic lordship, opened his eyes, and said: 'Salutation to thee, O apostle of God! I testify that thou art an apostle of Allah, and that thou hast promulged His message as it was proper.' Then he raised his head from the knee of the apostle of God, who returned to his house, and one hour afterwards Sa'd was received into the mercy of God. Jebrâil then descended with his turban of lightning on his head, and asked: 'O Muhammad, who of thy companions has died, for whom the portals of heaven were opened, and at whose death the throne of the Merciful has quaked?' His lordship the apostle said: 'I was just now with Sa'd, but I have left him in the agony of death.' After that his lordship—u. w. b.—the refuge of termination, again condescended to pay a visit to Sa'd, and ordered his corpse to be washed. Then his bier was taken up by some companions and borne to the Baqyi' [cemetery]; and when those friends said to the prophet: 'Sa'd was a tall man and had a large body; we nevertheless found his bier to be extremely light,' his lordship replied: 'I have seen angels taking up the bier of Sa'd—u. w. b.'

The Crime of Abu Sofyân, and the Going of the Ignorant Behrân to Madinah with the Intention to kill the Prophet of the Latter Days—upon him and his Family be the Blessing of Allah!

Historians and chroniclers narrate that, after Abu Sofyân had returned from the war of the ditch, he said to a number

of men: 'Is there anyone among you who will go to Madinah, will find an opportunity, and will avenge us upon Muhammad, who is walking about alone in the bazârs, and is so intent on promulging his apostolate that he cares neither for friend nor foe.' These words having been overheard by an Arab [of the desert], he betook himself to the house of Abu Sofyân, and privately said to him: 'If thou wilt support me, I shall do the business of Muhammad. I am well acquainted with the roads, have an excellent sharp dirk, and fear no one.' Abu Sofyân was glad, approved of his intention, provided him with food and with a camel, saying: 'Thou art not to divulge this secret to anyone.' The Arab replied: 'Be secure on that score; for no one except myself and thee shall know anything on this subject.' The Arab accordingly started one night from Mekkah, and, after traversing the distance, arrived in a short time in Madinah, where he made inquiries about his lordship the apostle, and, being told that he was in the tribe Bani A'bdu-l-ashhal, he immediately tied up his camel and started on foot in search of the apostle of God. At the time the said Arab had reached his place of destination, his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—happened to be sitting with a number of his companions, engaged in conversation, at the gate of the mosque. When his blessed vision alighted on the envoy of Abu Sofyân, he said: 'This individual meditates treachery; but Divine grace intervenes between him and me.' When that fellow came nearer, he asked: 'Who among you is the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb?' His lordship replied: 'I am the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb.' The Arab then immediately approached the apostle of God like a man intent to speak to some one; but Asyd B. Khadzyr pulled him up, saying: 'Be off from the apostle of God, thou accursed fellow!' And, laying his hand upon the Arab's girdle, he felt a dirk under the robe. He accordingly exclaimed: 'O apostle of God, this is a traitor!' The Arab thereon, falling at the feet of Asyd, said: 'Grant me my life.' The latter, however, held him fast, and his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—turning to the Arab,

said: 'Tell the truth. Who art thou, and what business hast thou come for? Thy veracity will be of advantage to thee if thou speakest the truth, but in the contrary case God the Most High Himself will inform me of thy intentions.' The Arab asked for quarter, and on receiving it stated his case; whereon he was, at a signal of his holy and prophetic lordship, imprisoned by Asyd. The next day the apostle of God called for the Arab, and said to him: 'I give thee liberty to depart whenever thou listest; for, verily, thou canst do a better thing than this [attempt at my life].' The Arab asked: 'What thing is it?' The lord of existences replied: 'It is to bear witness to the unity of God, and to believe in my apostolate.' The Arab then exclaimed: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that thou art the apostle of Allah. I never feared anyone, and dreaded not sharp scimitars; but when I beheld thee my intellect failed me, and my soul was overpowered by weakness. Thou hast guessed my intention, whereas no one except myself and Abu Sofyân had knowledge of the secret. I knew not that the Bountiful Sovereign is inspiring and guarding thee; but the amity of Abu Sofyân is the amity of Satan.' After the Arab had uttered these words, his lordship smiled; the former tarried a few days, and then asked leave to depart. His request having been complied with, he left Madinah. As, however, Abu Sofyân's criminal attempt had been renewed, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—commanded A'mru B. Ommyah Dhomairi and Sollâm B. Moslamah to go to Mekkah to watch their opportunity, and to assassinate Abu Sofyân B. Harb. Accordingly they started for the sanctuary [of Mekkah], and reached their destination after duly traversing the distance. Whilst, however, they happened to be circumambulating the house of the Ka'bah, an idolater recognised them, and shouted: 'O inhabitants of Mekkah, here is A'mru B. Ommyah! Be on your guard against him!' A'mru says: 'When the people of Mekkah saw us, we departed. Ebn Moslamah mounted his camel and fled towards Madinah, whilst I hastened to the mountains. On

that occasion O'thmân B. Mâlek encountered me, but I struck his breast with my poniard, and he shouted so loudly that all the people of Mekkah heard his voice. The attention of the inhabitants being concentrated upon him, they ceased to search for me, and I made use of the opportunity to hide myself in a cave, and then in another, where I saw a one-eyed man, who had led his sheep from the meridian sun into the shade. As he was reclining I heard him utter the words: "I shall not become a Moslem as long as I live; nor is the religion of the Musalmâns a good religion." He also spoke insulting words concerning the apostle; but I waited till he had fallen asleep, and then pressed one extremity of my bow on his sound eye, and I pressed it so strongly that it entered his brains. When I left the cave I met two Qoraish spies, one of whom I shot with an arrow so that he went to hell, and the other ran away. Both of us arrived safely, and we were honoured by being allowed to kiss the feet of the apostle of God.' When Abu Sofyân became aware of what had taken place, he took great precautions to preserve his life.

Sariah of Abu O'baydah Jurrâh.

In the month of Dhu-l-hejjah, in the fifth year after the Flight, his holy and prophetic lordship despatched Abu O'baydah Jurrâh toward Sayfu-l-hajar, and in that expedition the provisions of the army consisted of dates. It is related that in the beginning each combatant was satisfied with one date *per diem*, but that at last the ration was reduced to half a date. When, however, they became much distressed, God the most high and glorious threw a fish from the sea upon the shore, the meat whereof nourished three hundred men during one month. In the *Mostaqadza* there is a tradition of Jâber—m. A. r. h.—which is as follows: 'I passed with my camel under one of the ribs of the fish.'

Wâqidi says: 'When the provisions had been consumed in that expedition, Qays B. Sa'd B. A'bâdah asked: "Will anyone sell camels for dates on condition of obtaining them

immediately, and to be repaid [again for the camels] in dates at Madinah?" O'mar B. Alkhattâb replied: "It is strange that this youth should stretch forth his hand against the property of his father, he possessing none himself." But Qays replied insultingly to Fârâq [i.e., to O'mar]: "My father causes pedestrians to ride, and fills the hungry. How could he refuse to pay a debt which I contract in the cause of those who are combating for the religion?" Thereon Qays purchased from a man for five camels two loads of dates, which were consumed as needed. When they returned from their expedition, and arrived in Madinah, Sa'd B. A'bâdah rejoiced at the good act of Qays, praised him and presented him with four date-groves. When the purchaser of the camels arrived in Madinah Sa'd paid him the price of the camels, and kept the matter secret; but when his lordship—u. w. b.—was apprised of the humanity of Qays, he said: "Verily he is of a liberal family."'

MUHAMMAD B. MOSLAMAH FIGHTS THE BANI KALLÛB.

In this year his holy and prophetic lordship sent Muhammad B. Moslamah to the Bani Kallâb, saying: 'Possibly thou wilt vanquish Thamâmah B. Athâl Annakha'y.' It is recorded in the *Mostaqadza* that when the apostle of God sent, in the sixth year after the Flight, a detachment of his companions to Najd, they captured a man of the Bani Hanyfah, called Thamâmah, whom they brought to the lord of the apostolate, by whose orders he was tied to a column of the mosque. When the prophet left his house and entered that mosque, he asked: 'What is the news of Thamâmah?' He replied: 'I have good news, O Muhammad. If thou killest me, thou killest a professor [of thy religion], and if thou sparest me thou sparest a grateful man. If thou wantest property, ask for it.' The next day the apostle repeated his question, and received the same answer, as well as the third time. Then the apostle of God issued orders to liberate Thamâmah, whereon the latter immediately departed from the mosque,

washed himself, again returned to the mosque, and said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that thou art the apostle of Allah. O Muhammad, ere this I hated no religion more than thine, and no town more than thine; but at present I love nothing more than both these. O apostle of God, I went to Mekkah to perform the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and thy people captured me. What are now thy commands?' His lordship congratulated Thamâmah, and told him to go on pilgrimage to Mekkah. It is said that when Thamâmah made his appearance in the sanctuary a man said to him: 'Thou hast become a Sabæan;' but he replied: 'I have entered the religion of Islâm, and have selected the way of truth, and I swear by God that you will not receive a single grain of wheat from Thamâmah, except by the command of Muhammad, the apostle of God—u. w. b.' When Thamâmah arrived in his country he told the people not to carry grain any longer to Mekkah, and the Qoraish being distressed thereby, sent a letter to Madinah, requesting his lordship to order Thamâmah to deal with them as formerly. According to the exuberance of benevolence and kindheartedness peculiar to his lordship, he complied, and the inhabitants of the sanctuary escaped from famine. It is related that in this journey Muhammad B. Moslamah fought a battle with the Bani Kallab, in which the infidels lost two men and the rest of them fled, but one hundred and fifty camels with three thousand sheep of the idolaters fell to the share of the professors of Islâm. Muhammad B. Moslamah says: 'Ten nights of the month Moharram had elapsed when we marched out, and one night of the same month was yet remaining when we arrived in Madinah. Our whole number amounted to thirty men; we travelled during the night, and remained concealed during the day.'

Ghazwah of the Bani Ttayân.

Narrators of histories have recorded that when the calamity of A'assum B. Thâbet and Habyb B. A'dy, with

their companions, took place, as has been related above, his lordship the apostle became grieved and oppressed in spirit, and was waiting for an opportunity to wreak vengeance on the Bani Ttayân, who had committed such treachery. Therefore he proceeded in the sixth year after the Flight with two hundred Mohâjer and Anssâr cavaliers towards them, and reached during the march a place where Musalmâns had been made prisoners and slain. In that locality his lordship addressed propitiatory devotions to the Courts of Unity for A'assum B. Thâbet and his companions. Meanwhile the Bani Ttayân, having become aware of the approach of the apostle of God, fled to the summits of the mountains, where they fortified themselves, and thus saved their lives from destruction. The prophet—u. w. b.—halted one day in the above-mentioned locality, and sent out forays into the surrounding region. When he arrived in a place called Ghasfân he despatched, according to one tradition, Abu Bakr, and according to another Sa'd B. A'bâdah, with a detachment towards the enemy. When the Qoraish heard that the army of Islâm was coming they fled, so that on the arrival of the said detachment at A'mym no enemy could be found; accordingly, it returned from that place, and again joined the apostle of God.

Borydah says: 'In that Ghazwah I attended on his lordship, who looked on his arrival at Ghasfân to the right and to the left, and having found his mother's tomb he performed his religious ablution and went to the grave, on which he engaged in devotions with two prayer-flexions and wept, whereon all of us wept likewise. He then rose, and again made two flexions with prayers; he wept and we also. When he returned from the tomb he looked at his companions, and asked them: "What was the reason for your crying?" They replied: "We did as thou didst." He continued: "What did you think?" They said: "We thought that our people would suffer an unbearable calamity." He replied: "Such is not the case; but when I reached the grave of my mother I recited orisons with two prayer-flexions, and requested the Lord of Unity to be

allowed to ask pardon for her; but I was reproved,[223] and therefore I wept. Accordingly, I again prayed with two flexions, and asked permission to intercede for her, but was reproved again." '

In the *Seir Kâzrâni* it is related that, when the apostle of God had terminated his conversation, he asked for his camel, mounted it, and after that the blessed verse, 'It is not [allowed] unto the prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters,' etc.,[224] was revealed. Then the lord of apostles said to his companions: 'Be ye witnesses that I am innocent of this, in the same way as Ebrâhim was innocent of [the sin of having prayed for] his father.'

It is related that during this year his holy and prophetic lordship sent O'mar B. Alkhattâb to the Bani Qorârah, who stood fast while O'mar shot arrows at them with the right and the left hand. Ballâl B. Alhâreth Almazany was sent to the tribe Mâlek B. [name omitted], but they all fled, so that the Musalmâns found nothing in their place except one horse. On that occasion also Bashyr B. Sowyd Ajjabanny was sent against the Hârethah Kunânah, but the idolaters, being on their guard, fled into a thicket, which, however, Bashyr set on fire and burnt them all. When his lordship heard of this, he said: 'You have done an evil deed.'

A'LI THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL—U. W. B.—GOES TO THE BANI SA'D.

A'li the son of Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—was despatched with one hundred men to the tribe Bani Sa'd, which was in the region of Fadak, because his august lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—had heard that the said tribe was engaged in collecting an army, and desired to aid the Jews of Khayber to march together against Madinah. Accordingly, that whale of the ocean of contest [*i.e.*, A'li] marched during the night, and concealed himself during

[223] She, having died an idolater, could not be prayed for, and therefore Muhammad was reproved.

[224] Qurân, ch. ix. 114.

the day, until he arrived on that route in a place called Hajûn, where that Commander of the Faithful happened to meet one of the idolaters, and interrogated him concerning the opponents. That man replied: 'I shall guide you to them on condition that you grant me quarter.' His request having been complied with, he fulfilled his promise and led the Musalmâns to the Bani Sa'd, who, however, fled, but five hundred camels with two thousand sheep fell into the hands of the Musalmâns. A'li B. Abu Tâleb—u. w. b.—then selected a few good camels for the special use of his lordship. He also separated one-fifth [of the spoils], distributing the rest among them, and returned victoriously, arriving sound and safe in Madinah.

Ghazwah of the Bani Qurdah, which is called Ghazâ of Yamanah.

There is a tradition of Solman B Al-akwa' that he said: 'I was with Rabaa', the freed man of the apostle of God. We were coming out from Madinah, and I was riding the horse of Abu Ttolhah, the Anssâri, when all of a sudden at the break of dawn A'bdu-r-rahman B. O'tbah B. Hossyn Qorây arrived on the pasturage of the milk-camels of his lordship the apostle of God, killed the camel-driver and stole the camels. I gave the horse to Rabaa' to ride to Madinah in order to inform the apostle of God of this event. Then I mounted a hillock, and shouted thrice: "Ya Ssabahah!" I then pursued the idolaters with the sharp sword and the quiver of arrows I had. When I came near them I shot arrows at them, and every arrow I discharged wounded one of them. In that plain there were many trees, and whenever a rider attacked me I crouched down behind one of them, and kept him off by wounding him with an arrow. Sometimes I ascended the mountains and threw stones and shot arrows at them. Matters went on thus between me and the opponents until I had distressed them in such a manner that they were under the necessity of abandoning the camels of the apostle of God, which I drove to Madinah, and then again pursued those men,

whom I so harassed with my arrows that they threw away their spears and cloaks to engage my attention, and so hinder me from continuing my attacks. In that emergency a number of infidels came to the rescue of their people and were approaching. I, however, all of a sudden caught sight of Huzâm Asdy and Abu Qotâdah and Moqdâd Aswad Kundy, with other cavaliers who belonged to the vanguard of the apostle of God's army appearing among the trees. When the idolaters beheld the professors of Islâm they fled; Huzâm pursued them; I came down from the mountain, caught the bridle of his horse, and advised him to wait a little till the apostle of Allah arrived with his companions, but Huzâm replied: "O Moslamah, if thou believest in his lordship and in the day of the resurrection, thou knowest that paradise and hell are true. Do not interfere between me and martyrdom." I accordingly let go my hold, whereon Huzâm ran to A'bdu-r-rahman B. O'tbah, whom he struck with his lance, but unsuccessfully; then the latter did the same to the former, made him a martyr, and took possession of his horse after alighting from his own. At that time Abu Qotâdah, the Anssâri, reached him, but A'bdu-r-rahman wounded Abu Qotâdah with his spear, whereon the latter killed the former with one thrust of his lance and wounded his horse. After A'bdu-r-rahman had been slain we pursued the enemy, who entered a pass containing a spring of water, called Dhu Qarwah. The idolaters first turned to the water to drink, but when they saw us approaching they passed it by in haste and fled, whereon I alone pursued that company till sunset, and having taken from them two other horses I returned. When I arrived in Dhu Qarwah I saw that the apostle of God had halted in that place with the army of Islâm, and that Ballâl, having slaughtered one of the camels was roasting a *Kabâb*.[325] I said: "O apostle of God, allow me to go with one hundred picked men in pursuit of the opponents, and not to leave one of them alive." That prince replied: "Wouldst thou do that?" I con-

[325] Meat cut in pieces and dressed with onions, eggs, etc.

tinued: "I swear by that God who has exalted and honoured thee that I would do that." His lordship, however, smiled so that his august teeth [became visible and] shone brightly like fire, and he said: "O son of Akwa', be parsimonious when thou possessest," and, "An excellent man is lenient and more compassionate;" or, according to another tradition, the apostle of God said: "Now they are feasting in the tribe of Ghattafân." After that a man of the tribe arrived and said that one of the Bani Ghattafân had retained that company and slaughtered a camel, but when they were skinning it dust rose at a distance, which they took to be the army of Islâm, and fled. When it was morning, his holy and prophetic lordship said: "To-day the best of our riders is Abu Qotâdah, and the best pedestrian Solmah." I accompanied the former until he took me behind him on his camel, and we returned to Madinah.' The author says that if the pen of explanation were to record every Sariah and every event, the account would become very lengthy and greatly enlarge this abridgment; wherefore he has considered it proper to omit some, will do so in future also, and will confine himself to the narratives of the more important events, if it pleaseth God the Most High.

Praying for Rain.

It is related that in the sixth year after the Flight there happened to be a great famine and tremendous dearth in Madinah. The Musalmâns accordingly made haste to wait upon the prince of the world, and said: 'O apostle of God, the portals of abundance are closed, and the showers of mercy have ceased, so that great damage has befallen the fruit-trees; the cattle and other quadrupeds are perishing; and the people have fallen from comfort into misery, and from cheerfulness into distress. We beseech thee to ask the Bountiful Giver to refresh and to irrigate with the showers of His favour and goodness the garden of hopes of those who are wandering in the desert of confusion.' Therefore the apostle of God ordered the people on a

certain day to take provisions with them and to accompany him to the desert, for the purpose of praying for rain. On the appointed day his lordship donned old garments and proceeded with all humility and solemnity to the spot, where he performed two flexions with prayers, not using the [customary] formality of calling the people to prayers through the Muedhdhin. During the first prayer-flexion he recited the chapter 'Praise the name of thy Most High Lord,'[326] and during the second 'Hath the news of the overwhelming day [of judgment] reached thee?'[327] in a loud voice. When he had terminated his prayers he turned his face towards the companions, and inverted his pure *Redâ*, for a good omen, that famine might be changed to abundance and wealth. He raised his blessed hands and shouted one *Takbir*, uttering after that his prayer for rain with his wonderfully eloquent tongue. The narrator of this tradition says: 'We were yet in that place when a small cloud appeared on the sky, which unfolded itself, shedding abundant rain in such a manner that it never ceased during seven days and nights, after the expiration of which time the professors of Islâm said: "O apostle of God, our goods are spoiled, our houses are falling to pieces, and intercourse between the people has ceased. Lift up thy hands in prayer, that the Lord and Creator cause the rain to cease and the world-illuminating sun to shine." His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—being astonished at the inconsistency of mankind, smiled so as to show his blessed molar teeth, and then, turning his exalted countenance to the Qiblah of prayer, said: "O God, rain for us, and not upon us. [Rain] on the tops of hills and bottoms of valleys and the roots of plants." When his lordship had completed the prayers, the sky immediately cleared up, and Madinah was lit by the rays of the world-illuminating sun, so that in and around the city not one drop more fell.' It is related that when the apostle of God saw that it was [still] raining in the environs of Mekkah he laughed so [heartily] as to display

[326] Qurân, ch. lxxxvii. 1. [327] *Ibid.*, ch. lxxxviii. 1.

his teeth, and said: 'May God the Most High reward Abu Tâleb, for if he were alive he would rejoice at the verses he had composed, and would possibly recite them to us likewise.' A'li B. Abu Tâlob said: 'O apostle of God, perhaps thou wantest these verses?' Then he began to recite the verses of Abu Tâleb, and some biographers state that their interpretation is as follows:

'God has given rain to us thirsty ones
To favour the prophet of genii and men;
By it our orphans were fed,
By it our cattle were watered;
The Bani Hâshem are under his protection,
They all wish for his exaltation and dignity.
In every battle Muhammad was victorious,
God aided him with conquest;
We shall never abandon him,
Even if we be killed around him.'

According to the statements of all biographers and historians, the circumambulation of the house of the Ka'bah became obligatory during this year, and in confirmation thereof they add that the blessed verse 'Perform the pilgrimage [of Mekkah] and the visitation of Allah'[328] was revealed in the sixth year. The word 'perform' means 'to stay,' and not 'to complete.' Some, however, assert that it was made obligatory in the ninth year; but to discuss the claims [to credence] of these two parties is not suitable in this place.

His Lordship the Refuge of Termination—U. W. B.—proceeds to the Noble City of Mekkah with the Intention of performing the Ceremonies of the Pilgrimage, but is hindered by the Idolaters. The Treaty of Hodaybiah, and its Events.

The relater of the tradition says that the apostle of God came out from Madinah and meant to go on pilgrimage, because he had dreamt that he was doing so, holding the key of the Ka'bah in his own blessed hand, whilst some of his companions were shaving their hair, others picking it up and sojourning in A'rafat. When he narrated the

[328] Qurân, ch. ii. 192.

dream to his friends they rejoiced, and imagined this great happiness would be realized during the year. In this year Bashyr B. Sofyân Alka'by, who had professed the Faith in Mekkah, but had not left the town, was also admitted to the honour of kissing the feet of his lordship. It was arranged that a number of camels should be taken to Mekkah, to be slaughtered there as sacrifices. These amounted to seventy, among which were also the camels of Abu Jahl, that had been taken in the fight at Bedr, and had fallen into the possession of his lordship, Nâhyah B. Jundal being appointed to take care of them. Some of the companions who were opulent slaughtered a camel, such as Abu Bakr, and O'mar, and A'bdu-r-rahman, and Ttolhah. The Musalmâns carried no other arms except swords, despite of O'mar B. Alkhattâb's adjuration to the prophet to do so, when he said: 'O apostle of God, we must take arms, because we are not secure of Abu Sofyân and his companions.' But his lordship replied: 'I do not like to bear arms whilst on the visitation [to the holy places].' Then Sa'd B. A'bâdah said: 'O apostle of God, it will be better if we take arms, because the people will either offer resistance or not. In the first case we shall need arms, and in the second no harm will befall us.' His lordship, however, replied: 'We shall not take any arms, because we are going on pilgrimage.' Then he appointed Ebn Maktûm to be his lieutenant in Madinah, and having washed himself at the door of his house, and put on a robe, he mounted the she-camel Qasswy near the gate of his sacred habitation, and turning his blessed face towards the Qiblah he donned the *Ehrâm*,[320] and pronounced the words of obedience according to the formula: 'I await Thy commands, O Allah! I await Thy commands. Thou hast no partner. Thine is the praise and the glory and the kingdom. Thou hast no partner.' All the professors of Islâm imitated the example, and likewise put on the *Ehrâm* on the spot, whereby a portion of them signified their intention of performing the ceremonies connected with the pilgrimage. Concerning the

[320] Sacred habit which consists merely of two sheets.

number of the glorious army there is a difference among the U'lâma, but according to the most correct traditions of biographers one thousand and four hundred men attended the person of his holy and prophetic lordship. Among the mothers of the Musâlmans [*i.e.*, wives of Muhammad] Omm Solmah—u. w. b.—was selected to accompany the apostle of God on that journey. According to the unanimous consensus of biographers, the army departed from Madinah in the beginning of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah, Nâhyah B. Jundal being sent in advance with the led camels, and ordered to constitute with A'bâdah B. Boshyr and twenty other men the vanguard of the army, and to march through the desert to Mekkah.

It is related that when the apostle of God arrived in Ghasfân, Bashyr B. Sofyân, who had been despatched to spy out the Qoraish, returned from Mekkah, and said: 'O apostle of God, the Qoraish have learnt that thou art proceeding to the honoured sanctuary, have put on leather garments, mounted good camels, have started, and, lo! they are halting at Dhu Taul, having made a covenant with each other to hinder thee from entering Mekkah.'

When the news of the approach of his lordship spread among the inhabitants of Mekkah, they held a consultation, and determined to hinder that prince from visiting the house of Allah. They accordingly asked aid from the Arab tribes that were dwelling in the environs of the sanctuary, collected a numerous army, marched from Mekkah, halted in the station of Yâldah, and appointed Khâled B. Alwolyd and A'kramah B. Abu Jahl with two hundred troopers to be outposts. When the ray of this information shone upon the illuminated forehead, his lordship held a council of war with the distinguished Mohâjer and noble Anssâr, who said: 'It will be expedient for us to fall upon the women and children of the Arabs who are aiding the Qoraish, and to plunder them, so as to distress them, and to induce them to secede from the Qoraish for the protection of their own families. Then we may easily fight the Qoraish.' Ssiddyq

[*i.e.*, Abu Bakr], however, said: 'We have this year turned out with the intention of performing the visitation [to the sacred localities] and the pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'bah, without intending to meet or to fight with anyone. When the Qoraish hinder thee to visit the Ka'bah, then we shall fight them.' His lordship approved of the words of Ssiddyq, saying: 'Proceed [on the journey] in the name of Allah the Most High and Glorious.' And, continuing: 'Khâled B. Wolyd is in A'mym by way of an outpost. Avoid the beaten track, that we may come upon them unawares.' It is said that the professors of Islâm marched in an impracticable and difficult direction, being under the necessity of traversing gorges which greatly harassed the Musalmâns. His lordship, however, said: 'This is a path of the paths leading to paradise.' After leaving that locality they reached soft ground, whereon that prince exclaimed: 'Say, I ask pardon from Allah, and repent unto Him!' The narrator of the tradition says: 'I swear by Allah that Khâled B. Wolyd was not aware of the approach of the combatants for the religion until he perceived the dust raised by their animals, whereon he fled from fear of the victorious army, and informed the Qoraish of what was taking place.'

When his lordship reached a hill which is near Hodaybiah, the she-camel Qasswy, which he rode, knelt down, and, though the companions beat her, she would not get up, so that they said: 'Qasswy is tired.' But the prince of the world rejoined: 'Qasswy is not tired; He who stopped the elephant has stopped her'[330] The story of the halting of the elephant at the time when Abrahah Ssubbâh intended to destroy the house of the Ka'bah has been already narrated in these pages in detail. It is related that when the she-camel Qasswy knelt, his lordship exclaimed: 'I swear by God, in whose power the life of Muhammad is, that the Qoraish will ask from me nothing which refers to the glorification of the sanctuary without my complying therewith!' Then he struck the camel till she rose, but deflected

[330] Qurân, ch. cv., 'The Elephant.'

from the road, and again halted at a well near Hodaybiah, which contained little water. The people complained to his lordship of thirst after having consumed the water in a very short time, whereon he drew an arrow from his quiver and told them to throw it into the well. The narrator of the tradition says that in consequence of this act the water gushed forth so abundantly that one thousand four hundred men, with all their quadrupeds, drank thereof and were satisfied.

Jâber B. A'bdullah says that on the day of Hodaybiah the people complained to his lordship the apostle on account of the want of water, and said: 'O apostle of God, there is no water at all in this station, except in thy water-bag.' That prince had a water-bag the contents whereof he used for performing his religious ablutions. When his lordship heard these words, he placed his hands upon the bag, and the water trickled from between his blessed fingers as if it were dripping from a fountain. Jâber says: 'We all drank of that water, and performed our religious ablution.' Being asked how many persons had drunk of that water and performed their religious ablution, Jâber replied: 'I swear that if we had been one hundred thousand it would have sufficed us!'

When the regions and environs of Hodaybiah were honoured by the presence of his holy and prophetic lordship and of his noble companions, Hodhayl B. Warqâ Khuzaa'y was, with a number of his tribe—who aspired to the amity of his lordship the best of men—u. w. b.—and whose [tribesmen's] bosoms were the depositories of the orders of the prince of the righteous—admitted to the felicity of kissing the heaven-exalted stirrups of his lordship, and reported that the Bani Ka'b B. Lawy and A'amer B. Lawy had with several Arab tribes taken their position near the wells, with the intention to hinder his lordship from visiting the house of the Ka'bah, and to attack him in case he should refuse to withdraw. The prophet—u. w. b.—said: 'We have not come to fight or to kill anyone, but our intention is to visit the house of Allah and to perform the ceremonies of the

pilgrimage. As the Qoraish are greatly bent on war, they must be displeased with our intention; but if they are willing, we shall appoint a time for the fight. I shall contend against all idolaters. If I am vanquished, they will have gained their object; but if I am the victor, they will have to follow and to obey me like all other people, and thus an end will be made to discord and to war. If, however, the Qoraish refuse to comply with my proposal, I swear by that God in whose power the life of Muhammad is, that I shall fight them, and God the Most High and Magnificent will grant the victory to His adherents, and will execute His purpose.' Hodhayl replied: 'I shall immediately report thy words to the Qoraish.' He then departed from the noble assembly, betook himself to the camp of the idolaters, met the Qoraish, and said: 'I have heard Muhammad's declaration, and if you are so inclined I shall report it.' Then Hukm B. Abu-l-a'ass and all the fools of the people said: 'We do not want to hear his tale.' The intelligent, however, and the discerning exclaimed: 'Tell us what thou hast heard from him.' Accordingly, Hodhayl first narrated what he had listened to, and then spoke as follows: 'O ye Qoraish people, are you desirous of waging war against Muhammad when he is going on pilgrimage to the house of the Ka'bah?' But the infidels thought that Hodhayl had agreed with the Musttafa—u. w. b.—to deceive them; and with reference to this matter U'rwah B. Masau'd Thaqafi rose and said: 'O ye Qoraish people, are you not in the place of fathers to me, as if I were your son?' They replied: 'Yes, so it is.' U'rwah further asked: 'Do you suspect that I would be inimical or treacherous towards you?' They said: 'No.' Then U'rwah enumerated former obligations under which the Qoraish were bound to him, and said: That which Muhammad proposes to you is highly acceptable and praiseworthy. You ought to agree to it, and to allow me to speak with these people.' They replied: 'We have no objection.' U'rwah accordingly waited upon his lordship the prince of existences, and enjoyed the felicity [of speaking to him]

His lordship repeated the same words to him which he had said to Hodhayl, and U'rwah spoke thus: 'O Muhammad, if thou extirpatest and annihilatest the Qoraish, of what use will it be to thee? Are they not, after all, of thy own nation and of thy blood? I never heard of an Arab acting in this way before. Woe betide thee if thou art conquered! for I see a number of men around thee who will flee and abandon thee on the day of thy calamity, and will leave thee alone.' When the Saiddyq heard these words of U'rwah, he began to revile and to insult him, and asked: 'Shall we flee from him and leave him alone?' U'rwah queried: 'Who is the speaker of these words?' The people said: 'Abu Bakr.' U'rwah then continued: 'I swear by God, in whose power my life is, that if my pledge to thee had not hindered me, I would have answered and punished thee!' According to Wâqidi, the pledge to Abu Bakr was that during the time of ignorance U'rwah had become liable to pay a blood-mulct, and that his friends had paid it by giving two or three oxen each, but the Saiddyq had presented U'rwah with two cows [to make up the ransom]. It is related that U'rwah was sitting near his lordship the apostle, and that during the conversation he happened to touch the blessed moustache of that prince; but Moghayrah B. Sha'bah, who was standing by the side of his lordship with a naked sabre, struck U'rwah with the flat blade of it whenever U'rwah approached the blessed beard with his hand, saying: 'Be civil, and keep off thy hand from the blessed moustache of the apostle of God.' After Moghayrah had several times reprimanded him, U'rwah asked: 'Who is this man?' They replied: 'Moghayrah B. Sha'bah.' Then U'rwah turned towards Moghayrah, saying: 'Traitor! I am endeavouring to make peace and to remedy thy perfidiousness, and thou repayest me thus!'

Wâqidi says: 'Moghayrah went with thirteen persons to the King [*sic*] of Alexandria, who exalted them above himself and made them presents. On their return from Alexandria they were one night carousing, and when, being drunk with wine, they had fallen asleep, Moghayrah was so

overpowered by covetousness and envy that he killed them all, took possession of their property, went to Madinah, and became a Musalmân. His lordship said to him: "Thy profession of Islâm is accepted, but I do not want to have anything to do with thy property, and shall not take the fifth of it." When this news spread in Mekkah, and Abu Sofyân was apprised thereof, he informed U'rwah B. Masau'd Thaqafi of it. The latter then went several times to the Bani Mâlek and spoke on the subject to Moghayrah, who agreed to pay to their heirs the blood-mulct for the thirteen men he had assassinated. The Bani Mâlek [nevertheless] prepared for revenge, and began to quarrel with the tribe of Moghayrah, who, however, succeeded in quelling the tumult by negotiations and flattery, so that the Bani Mâlek at last agreed to accept the ransom, to pay which U'rwah made himself responsible, whereon peace was restored, and the words spoken by U'rwah to Moghayrah referred to this transaction.' It is related that in the said assembly U'rwah B. Masau'd looked from the corner of his eye at the companions of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—scanning their behaviour, and witnessing how respectfully and how reverently they dealt with the prophet in their words and acts. He took the finger of astonishment between the teeth of amazement, and said on his return to the idolaters: 'O ye Qoraish people, by Allah! I have been in assemblies of kings, I have seen the Kesra, the Qayssar, and the Najâshi,[331] but have seen none of their servants honouring them as the companions of Muhammad honour him. I swear by God that when he spat, and the saliva happened to fall on the hand of one of his friends, he smeared it upon his own face, and considered it as an ornament. When he wanted anything to be done, which the meanest could perform, the highest of his people made haste to do it.'

Wâqidi relates that U'rwah said: 'I have seen men who would suffer themselves to be killed for his sake without caring for their lives. As long as one of that company has

[331] The sovereigns of Persia, Byzantium and Abyssinia.

life remaining in him he will not cease to protect his friend, and will not surrender him to the enemy. Nor will this army turn away from you, except it be annihilated or takes vengeance on you. The conclusion from all this is that you are not to reject the proposal of Muhammad, which only implies your own peace and welfare, and that you ought to believe in and respect his foresight. I give you good advice, and fear that the breeze of victory and conquest will waft in favour of our enemies, because Muhammad has come to glorify the house of Allah.' The Qoraish replied: 'Do not utter words like these; for we shall not allow him to visit the house of the Ka'bah this year. We wish him to return now, and to come next year to circumambulate the house.' After U'rwah had returned, a man of the chiefs of the Hâmysh, whose name was Jalys, desired to meet his holy and prophetic lordship. He obtained permission from the Qoraish, proceeded to the camp of the professors of Islâm, and when he arrived near it the apostle of God exclaimed: 'This is a man of the nation which sacrifices camels for the glorification of the Ka'bah! Go and meet him!' The friends obeyed, and Jalys, guessing that they had come on pilgrimage, and not for war, said to himself: 'Praise be to Allah! it is not proper that anyone hinder them from encompassing the Ka'bah.' He then immediately returned without enjoying the felicity of waiting on his lordship, and said to the Qoraish: 'Friends, I have seen the companions of Muhammad, who have prepared camels for the sacrifices and are on their way to visit the house of God. I do not see why you should impede them from visiting the house of the Ka'bah.' The Qoraish replied: 'Be silent, O Jalys! Thou art but a simple Arab, and knowest nought about politics.' Hereon Jalys became angry, and exclaimed: 'O ye Qoraish, I do not agree with you that anyone who comes to visit the Ka'bah and to glorify the house of Allah should be hindered. I swear by that God in whose power the life of Jalys is that if you prohibit Muhammad from going round the Ka'bah I and all the Hâmysh will separate

from you.' The Qoraish thereon excused themselves, saying: 'Let us alone, O Jalys, and we shall conclude peace with Muhammad according to our own wish.'

In the *Maghrafatu-s-sahâlah* it is recorded that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—gave to Kharâsh B. Ommyah Khozaa'y a camel, named 'The Fox,' and sent him to Mekkah, to inform the inhabitants of the intention of his lordship the apostle of God—u. w. b. When Kharâsh arrived in Mekkah the Qoraish followed his camel with the intention of slaying him; but some genii liberated him from the grasp of the idolaters and sent him back to the apostle of God, who, calling O'mar B. Alkhattâb after Kharâsh had waited on him, said: 'Thou must go to Mekkah, and inform the Qoraish that we are not coming to fight, but to visit the house of the Ka'bah.' O'mar replied: 'It is evident to thy discerning mind how greatly the Qoraish are incensed against us, and how much I hate them. As soon as they catch hold of me they will undoubtedly kill me, nor is any one of the Bani A'dy at Mekkah who could protect me against their wicked intentions. It will be more suitable to despatch O'thmân B. O'ffân, because he is much respected among the Qoraish, and has many clansmen, as well as relatives, in Mekkah.' The opinion of Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] having been approved of, Dhu-n-nûryn was sent to Abu Sofyân and the Qoraish chieftains, to inform them of the intentions of that prince. O'thmân accordingly started in consequence of the order he had received, and met the idolaters in a place called Yaldah, where he delivered his message, saying: 'His lordship the prophet desires to visit the house of the Ka'bah, and not to fight neighbours nor strangers. The infidels, however, insisted on prohibiting the paragon of the family of Qossai and the pride of the family of A'bd Munâf to circumambulate the Ka'bah, and said: 'This is a matter which we shall never allow. We cannot consent that he should enter Mekkah and visit the house of God.' After that Ayân B. Sa'yd B. Ala'ass showed much respect to O'thmân, seated him on his own beast, and mounted

behind him. Thus they arrived in Mekkah, where Dhu-n-nûryn delivered the message of the apostle of God to Abu Sofyân, and to a number of the Qoraish nobles who had not gone out with the people. All of them agreed, however, in refusing to admit the apostle of God [to the sanctuary of Mekkah]. The Qoraish then said to O'thmân: 'If thou be so inclined, arise, go and circumambulate the Ka'bah.' O'thmân replied: 'I shall not encompass it before the apostle of God has done so.' At these words the idolaters became so incensed that they would not allow O'thmân to depart. It is said that when O'thmán had gone to Mekkah, the professors of Islám said in the assembly of his lordship the best of men: 'Blessed is O'thman, who has departed to the sanctuary and will visit the Ka'bah!' The apostle of God, however, replied: 'We being hindered from encompassing the Ka'bah, O'thmân will likewise not do so.' On that occasion ten of the Mohâjer went, with the permission of his holy and prophetic lordship, to Mekkah, and their names are as follows: 'Jâber, and A'bdullah B. Sohayl, and A'yyâsh B. Rabya'h, and Hesham B. A'bdu-l-a'ass, and Hattub B. Abu Balyghah, and Hâttub B. A'mru, and O'mayr B. Wohob Alhajamy, and A'bdullah B. Abu Khosâa'y, and A'bdullah B. Ommyah.[331] After O'thmân's sojourn in Mekkah had become protracted beyond expectation, it reached the august audition of his holy and prophetic lordship that O'thmân had been killed, together with the just-mentioned ten Mohâjer. Ebn A'bbás—u. w. b.—says: 'Satan proclaimed that O'thmân had been slain at Hodaybiah; and when the rumour of the murder of O'thmân became current in the army of Islàm the apostle of God leant with his back against a tree, which event God the Most High has recorded in the Qurân, saying: "Now Allah was well pleased with the true believers when they swore fidelity unto thee under the tree."'[332] Then the professors of Islàm swore fidelity, and promised him to fight the idolaters. Sohayl B. A'mru was, according to a certain tradition, on this occasion, with a number

[331] These are only nine men, and not ten.
[332] Qurân, ch. xlviii. 18.

of idolaters, honoured by being admitted into the presence of the prince of apostles and guide on the true road—u. w. b.—for the purpose of negotiating about the delivery of certain Qoraish prisoners, the details of which transaction are as follows: The apostle of God had appointed Awys B. Khauly and A'bâdah B. Bashyr and Muhammad B. Moslamah in the station of Hodaybiah, to take their turns with a number of the professors of Islâm during the night and to keep watch over the victorious army. After O'thmân had departed to Mekkah and had not yet returned, the Qoraish sent one night fifty men towards the august camp, with instructions to capture some of the companions of the prophet—u. w. b.—but Muhammad B. Moslamah, who was that night on guard over the camp, succeeded in making them all prisoners, whereon his holy and prophetic lordship placed them in durance, and said: 'At the time when God the Most High had ordered me to receive your allegiance the first man who hastened to pay it was Abu Sanânu-l-asdy.' A'bdu-r-razzâq, who is a biographer and chronicler, states that before the arrival of Sohayl B. A'mru permission had been given by the Qoraish to Mukraz B. Hafdzy to go to the camp of the Musalmâns. When his lordship perceived him from a distance, he said to his companions: 'This man is a traitor! Speak not with him.' He, however, himself conversed with him. Meanwhile Sohayl B. A'mru made his appearance with a number of men, and his lordship exclaimed: 'Verily our business has been facilitated[334] to you.' According to another tradition, he said: 'Indeed our affair has been made easy.' A'bdu-r-razzaq continues: 'When Sohayl was honoured by admission into his lordship's presence, he said: "O Muhammad, the capturing of thy companions was not undertaken by intelligent and wise men, but by a lot of fools, whose undertaking no prudent man approved of. We therefore request thee to liberate a number of our friends who are in the bonds of captivity." His lordship replied: "I shall not let them

[334] A play on the words Sahal [facilitated] and Sohayl.

go until my companions are sent back.' Sohayl rejoined: "Thy words are very just." When the Qoraish heard of this they dismissed O'thmân with the ten men whose names have been mentioned above, whereon his lordship also liberated those whom Muhammad B. Moslamah had captured.'

It is said that when, after the covenant [under the tree], the news arrived that O'thmân was still alive, his lordship said: 'O'thmân had departed on the business of God and of His apostle, and I do not want him to be excluded from the blessing of this covenant.' Then he pointed to his own right hand, saying: 'This is the hand of O'thmân,' and to his left, saying: 'This is my hand.' He then placed his hands upon each other, thus symbolizing the covenant for O'thmân. Qotâdah said: 'Blessed is the nobleness of O'thmân, whose hand is the same with that of the Master of both worlds, and a mercy to mankind.' But the most correct tradition is that the covenant consisted in the promise not to flee from the battle-field, and it is related of Jâber—u. w. b.—that he said: 'The covenant of content was maintained by all except by Harr B. Qays the hypocrite, and the apostle of God said: "Whoever assisted at the covenant under the tree will enter Paradise, except the possessor of the red camel."' Jâber continues: 'In that desert Harr B. Qays was searching for his lost camel, and disregarding all my entreaties to swear allegiance to the lord of apostleship, he replied: "I love my camel more than the covenant of allegiance."' When Sohayl B. A'mru and his friends saw how joyfully the Musalmâns hastened [to pay the said allegiance], suspicion and fear overpowered their minds, and they returned to their people, whom they informed of the great harmony prevalent among the professors of Islâm. The Qoraish being also disheartened by this information, despatched Sohayl B. A'mru and Khoyttab B. A'bdu-l-u'zza and Mukraz B. Hafass to the apostle of God, for the purpose of spreading out the carpet of pacification. Sohayl represented to the discerning mind of his holy and prophetic lordship that the Qoraish would

conclude a treaty of peace with him, on the condition of his returning home this year, and coming the next to perform the visitation. To this proposal his lordship assented, and the negotiations for peace were drawn up as follows: 'During the space of ten years the Musalmâns and the Qoraish idolaters should wage no war against each other, and should be allowed to visit each other's countries without let or hindrance; that they should injure each other's lives and property neither openly nor secretly; that no idolater under the protection of, or professing allegiance to, the prophet—u. w. b.—be injured by the Qoraish, and likewise anyone desirous of joining the latter should not be persecuted by the Musalmâns; that the Musalmâns should return home this year and come the next on pilgrimage to Mekkah with their arms sheathed, not remaining there longer than three days, nor taking part openly or secretly in the quarrels of their respective allies, or injuring them in any way; that every idolater coming to his lordship without the permission of his chief, and apostatizing from his religion and desiring to profess Islâm, be sent back again, but that any Musalmân wishing to renounce the Faith, and taking refuge with the Qoraish, be allowed to remain among them.' Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar], being astonished at this last clause, exclaimed: 'O apostle of Allah, agreest thou to this proposal?' His lordship smiled and replied: 'Anyone who comes over to us from them, and we send him back, will be provided with deliveranse and relief from Allah the Most High and Glorious, but whoever apostatizes from us, and joins the polytheists, has nothing to hope for and is more fit for their society [than for ours].'

Ebn A'mârah says: 'His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—sat in the meeting of pacification with A'bâdah B. Bashyr Badyi' and Moslamah B. Aslam Masalah in his rear, and Sohayl B. A'mru was sitting opposite to the apostle of God on the two knees [or rather haunches] of civility. Sohayl sometimes talked loud and sometimes low, but whenever he spoke in the former way he was reproved by A'bâdah and Moslamah, who said: "Respect the exalted

assembly, and do not speak so loud." The professors of Islâm stood in lines opposite to his lordship the apostle, as witnesses, so that not the smallest detail of that meeting has escaped me. On this occasion Abu Jundal B. Sohayl B. A'mru, who had already become a Musalmân, but whose father had kept him prisoner, arrived with heavy fetters from the lower end of Mekkah, and, uttering the profession of Faith, threw himself among the Musalmâns. Hereon A'mru exclaimed: "Muhammad, this is the first act taking place after our negotiation. Surrender this man to me." His lordship, however, replied: "We have not yet finished writing it." Sohayl rejoined: "In this manner peace cannot be concluded between you and me." His lordship continued: "Let alone this man for my sake." Sohayl, however, refused, and the more the apostle of God insisted on this point, the more unwilling Sohayl became to comply. After that the prophet said: "O Sohayl, do not injure and persecute him after this." Then Mukraz B. Hafass became security that no harm would befall Abu Jundal, but when the latter understood that he was to be taken back to Mekkah, he said: "O ye Musalmâns, would you surrender me—who have become one of you, and have taken shelter with you—to the idolaters? Have you not heard what misery and distress I suffered from the infidels?" These words he spake because the polytheists had tormented him in various ways. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. —however, said: "Be patient and rejoice. Trust in the reward of Allah, and confide in His mercy, because He will send deliverance to thee and to the other Musalmâns who are [persecuted] in Mekkah. At present we have to fulfil a condition we have granted to these people, and it is not our custom to break promises; the first of all in this matter is patience." And, verily, handsome is the saying:

Distich: Man is delivered of bonds by patience,
For the key of fetters is patience.

It is said that when Sohayl B. A'mru took Abu Jundal away from the Musalmâns, he departed with him to Mekkah, accompanied by O'mar B. Al-Khattâb, who said

to Abu Jundal: 'Have patience; for these people are idolaters, whose blood is equivalent to that of dogs,' holding out at the same time the hilt of his sabre to Abu Jundal, because he imagined the latter would draw it out and slay Sohayl B. A'mru; and though he explained his idea also by signs to induce him to kill his own father, Abu Jundal was prevented by his filial affection from realizing the hints of O'mar. It is related that O'mar said: 'On that occasion I hoped Jundal would accept the sword from me and despatch Sohayl B. A'mru, but he would not slay his own father.' In some biographical works we read that when O'mar intimated to Abu Jundal the wish that he should kill his own father, he replied to Fârûq: 'Why slayest thou him not thyself?' And Fârûq rejoined: 'The apostle of God has prohibited me to kill him.' Hereon Abu Jundal said: 'The claims of the apostle of God to my adherence and obedience are as great as thine.'

Historians have recorded that when the conditions of peace had been enumerated, the reed, ink, and all the materials for writing were produced, whereon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered Awys B. Khauly, the Anssâri, to write the treaty of peace. Sohayl B. A'mru, however, interposed, saying: 'O Muhammad, this document ought to be written by thy cousin A'li, or by O'thmân.' Complying with this suggestion, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—said to A'li—u. w. b.: 'Write, in the name of Allah the Merciful, the Clement!' Sohayl exclaimed: 'I swear by Allah that we do not know who the Merciful is. Write, in the name of Allah, as thou hast been accustomed to write before!' The Musalmâns said: 'We shall not write anything but in the name of Allah the Merciful, the Clement!' Then the apostle of God said: 'O A'li, write: In thy name, O Allah!' A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—obeyed the order of the prince of apostles—u. w. b.—whereon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—continued: 'Write: This is what Muhammad the apostle of Allah has decided.' When A'li had written these words, Sohayl said: 'We do not

believe in thy apostleship, and if we had known that thou art an apostle of Allah we would not have prohibited thee from visiting the Ka'bah. O A'li, write: Muhammad the son of A'bdullah.' His lordship continued: 'Ali, blot out the "apostle" and write in lieu of that word: the son of A'bdullah' (and not 'Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah,' as is stated in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*, and in some other books). When his lordship the apostle ordered A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—to blot out the word 'apostle of Allah' A'li replied: 'No, by Allah! I shall not expunge the word of thy apostleship.' According to another tradition Sohayl B. A'mru said: 'A'li, blot out "the apostle of Allah," or I shall break off this negotiation of peace.' Hereon the Commander of the faithful threw away the leaf, and wanted to draw his sword, but his lordship the apostle said: 'Let it alone.' Ali the Commander of the Faithful then said: 'O apostle of Allah, my respect and veneration for thee prohibit me to blot out that word.' At last his lordship the Musstafa—u. w. b.—took the leaf, and himself blotted out the word 'apostle.' Some allege that, although he had never [before] written anything, he wrote, instead of the above word, 'the son of A'bdullah' in an abridged form; but according to others he [merely] ordered Ali to do so. The names of the Musalmâns who signed the above document were as follows: Abu Bakr B. Abu Kuhâfah, and O'mar B. Alkhattâb, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, and Sa'd B. Abu Waqqâss, and O'thmân B. O'ffân, and Abu O'baydah Al-jurrâh, and Muḥammad B. Moslamah, and Abu Jundal B. Sohayl; and of the infidels the following: Hawyttab B A'bdu-l-u'zza, and Mukraz B. Hafass, and many others. The Bani Khozaa'h joined the prophet, and the Bani Bakr the Qoraish. When the writing of the treaty of peace was completed the apostle turned his blessed face to A'li, saying: 'Something like this must necessarily befall thee likewise.' In accordance with these words, it happened that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful had, for the purpose of combating Abu Sofyân, marched to Ssaffyn, and after a protracted contest peace

was concluded—as will be recorded below—the clerk wrote: 'This is the Treaty of Peace of A'li the Commander of the Faithful,' Moa'wiah said: 'Blot out the phrase "Commander of the Faithful," and write, "The son of Abu Ttâleb"; for, if I had believed him to be the Commander of the Faithful, I would not have fought against him, but would have obeyed him.' A'li the Amir of the true believers exclaimed: 'The apostle of Allah has spoken the truth. Write what Moa'wiah tells thee.'

Learned biographers relate that when the treaty of Hodaybiah was concluded the friends [of the prophet] became very sad and melancholy, because they imagined that during this year the dream of his lordship the prophet would be realized, that they would conquer Mekkah, and that the Musalmâns would enter the sanctuary as friends, and would perform the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Also the devil, driven away with stones,[336] inspired the professors of Islâm with doubts unbecoming to their truth and sincerity, as Fârûq himself related, saying: 'On that day I revolved a great matter in my mind, went to the apostle of God, and said: "Art thou a prophet in reality?" He said "Yes." I continued: "Are we not right, and our foes wrong?" He replied: "Yes." I asked: "Then why do we put up with all this scorn and humiliation, and are returning after having submitted to this degradation and made peace?" He replied: "I am the apostle of Allah, and do not disobey Him; He is my Protector and Helper."' According to another tradition, however, he said: 'I am the apostle of God, and He will not abandon me.' O'mar continues: 'I said: "O apostle of God, hast thou not promised me that we shall soon go to Mekkah and walk round the house of the Ka'bah?" He said "Yes." I asked: "Will it be this year?" He answered, "No," and added. "O'mar, be not sad; for thou shalt visit the Ka'bah and circumambulate it."' Fârûq says: 'Sad and depressed as I was in the assembly of the apostle of God, I went to Abu Bakr and narrated to him the above conversation, but

[336] Qurân, ch. xv. 17.

received the same reply from him as from the apostle of God.' According to another tradition, Sseiddyq replied to Fârûq: 'He is the apostle of God, and whatever he does he does by revelation, and it would have been proper for thee not to disobey or to contradict him.' It is related that Abu O'baydah Jurrâh said to O'mar: 'Muhammad is the apostle of God the Most High and Glorious; whatever he does is right and correct. O O'mar, beware of the snares of Satan, and take refuge with God against them.' Fârûq says: 'It is a long time since I have repented and asked pardon for my objections against the prince of the righteous—u. w. b.—and have devoted myself to good works, such as prayers, fasting, almsgiving, and the manumission of slaves, hoping that they would become a propitiation for my transgressions.'

It is related that on the day [of the peace] of Hodaybiah O'mar and a number of his companions said to his holy and prophetic lordship: 'O apostle of God, hast thou not said, "I shall enter the mosque of the sanctuary, take the keys of the Ka'bah in my hands, get my head shaved in the valley of Mekkah, and shall abide in A'rafat"?' His lordship asked: 'Have I said that all these things will take place during this journey?' O'mar replied: 'No, O apostle of God.' Then the prophet turned to O'mar, and said: 'You have forgotten that when you were fleeing on the day of Ohod, and I called, not one of you took notice of it. Have you forgotten that on the Day of the Confederates,[336] when the enemies were approaching you from above and from below, the promise of God the Most High was fulfilled?' In the same manner he reminded the Musalmâns of many other occasions and places where they had been protected by Divine favour, so that they all said: 'What God and His prophet declare is true. Thy penetration cannot be fathomed by our intellects, and thy acquaintance with God the Most High, His orders and His mysteries, is greater than ours.' In the year of 'the decreed pilgrimage,' however, when his lordship entered

[336] This is also the title of ch. xxxiii. of the Qurân.

Mekkah, he got his blessed head shaved, turned to his companions, and said: 'This is what I have promised you;' and when he took in 'the year of victory' the key of the Ka'bah into his hand, he called O'mar, and said: 'This is what I have told you.'

It is related that during the negotiations at Hodaybiah as many infidels became Musalmâns as [had become such] from the beginning [of Islâm] till that period of time. Saiddyq says: 'There was no victory in Islâm equal to the Peace of Hodaybiah, but the understandings of the professors could not comprehend it, because it was a secret known only to the apostle of God and to the Creator. The pious were in haste, but the Lord God Most High is free from precipitation.' Saiddyq says: 'I swear by God that in the *Hajjatu-l-wodaa'* [pilgrimage of valediction] I have seen Sohayl B. A'mru bringing a camel destined for a sacrifice to his holy and prophetic lordship, and he cut the throat of it with his own blessed hand. Then Sohayl called for a barber to shave the head of that prince; and when the shaving of the head of the prophet was completed, I noticed Sohayl picking up the blessed hairs, rubbing them over both his eyes, and considering them tantamount to the felicity of this and of the next world. Then I remembered [the contrast], how he had on the day of Hodaybiah demurred to the words "In the name of Allah the Merciful, the Clement" being written in the Treaty, and would not allow the words "Muhammad the apostle of Allah" to remain on that page.

The texts of biographical works inform us that when the foundations of peace had been laid between the professors of obedience and rebellion, his lordship said to his companions: 'Arise; slaughter the camels you brought for presentation! Shave your heads! Let no one budge from this place!' The apostle of God thrice repeated the order to kill the animals and shave heads, but no one obeyed. His lordship then very angrily stepped into the tent of Omm Solmah, one of his spouses, most distinguished for her intellect and penetration. She asked: 'O apostle

of God, what has happened to thee?' That prince replied: 'I am astonished at the people whom I ordered to slaughter the presentation camels and to shave their own heads; not one, however, obeyed my command, although they had heard my words and looked at me.' Omm Solmah answered: 'O apostle of God, pardon them, for they thought they would conquer Mekkah this year, but all their wishes have been frustrated, whereas all the demands of the opponents have been complied with. If thy most noble mind is bent on slaying the camels and shaving, then go out and speak not a word to anyone until thou hast slaughtered thy own camels of presentation and hast shaved thine own head. After seeing thee do this, thy companions will have no other remedy but to follow thy example.' His lordship acted according to the advice of Omm Solmah, and when the companions saw what was going on they cut the throats of their camels, some shaved their heads, and others picked up the hairs; but from the great depression and grief which had overpowered their minds, they were almost ready to kill each other, and on that day his lordship said: 'O God, forgive the tardy ones!' Some say he added, 'And the deficient,' repeating the last word four times. Then they asked: 'O apostle of God, what was the reason thou hast repeatedly prayed for the deficient, and hast confined thyself only to one invocation with reference to the tardy?' He replied with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'Because they [*i.e.*, the tardy] did not doubt.' It is related that among the presentation camels that of Abu Jahl had escaped and had gone to his home, the driver of his lordship pursuing it all the time. The fools among the people were unwilling to give it up, but Sohayl B. A'mru said: 'You may keep this camel if you give one hundred others instead of it.' The Qoraish despatched a courier to his holy and prophetic lordship, promising to give one hundred camels for that of Abu Jahl. The apostle of God—u. w. b.—replied: 'Had that camel not been appointed for presentation I would have complied with your request.' It is said that the apostle of God sent

twenty camels, among which was also that of Abu Jahl, with Nâhyah B. Jundal to Mekkah to be slaughtered, and for their meat to be distributed among the poor and destitute. The policy of sending [also] the camel of Abu Jahl to Mekkah to be slain was to distress the minds of the idolaters.

All the [other] presentation camels were sacrificed at Hodaybiah and distributed among worthy persons; some, however, allege that this was done at Madinah. When the sacrifice and the shaving of heads had terminated, God the Most High sent a great wind, which carried the hairs of the Musalmâns to Mekkah, and scattered them in the sanctuary. His lordship threw the blessed hairs of his head on a tree which was near, and the companions struggled among themselves to obtain possession of them. O'mmârah says: 'I made great efforts and got hold of a single hair, which I washed; and to whatever sick person I administered the water thereof he recovered his health.'

It is related that the greater Fârûq said: 'When we departed from Hodaybiah I accompanied the apostle of God, and asked him something thrice, but obtained no reply. Therefore I said to myself: "May thy mother become childless, O O'mar! Thou hast been displeased with the proceedings of the apostle of God, and therefore he has given thee no reply." After that I quickly impelled my camel so as to precede the army, fearing that on account of my having manifested displeasure to the apostle of God, with reference to the conclusion of the Treaty of Peace, a verse of the Qurân might be revealed concerning me; but after I had advanced a short distance I heard a man exclaim: "O'mar B. Alkhattâb, the apostle of God is calling thee!" My fear increased at these words. I hastened, however, to wait on that prince, proffered my salutation, which he returned, and I perceived marks of joy shining on his august forehead. He then said: "Thou hast asked me something, but I gave thee no reply, because I was absorbed with a Divine revelation; and this evening a chapter has descended which I love more than anything

the sun shines upon." After that he began to recite the chapter "Verily we have given thee a manifest victory,"[237] and congratulated the companions, who likewise offered their felicitations to his lordship.' Some commentators [of the Qurân] allege that the 'manifest victory' signifies the Peace of Hodaybiah, because it was the first of many [subsequent] victories. After it some blessed persons, who had heretofore kept their faith secret in Mekkah, professed it openly, disputed with the idolaters, and recited the evident signs [*i.e.*, verses of the Qurân] to them, by which means many of those who had been straying in the desert of aberration were exalted by entering the road of guidance, as has been recorded before. In those days also the Peace of Khayber, which was one of the greatest victories in Islâm, was concluded, as will be narrated in detail in these pages, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. Other commentators, however, consider the 'manifest victory' to mean the victory of Khayber or the victory of Mekkah; but Allah the Most High knows best.

Abu Bassyr comes from Mekkah to Madinah, but again returns, by Order of his Lordship the Refuge of Apostleship—U. W. B.

When the prince of existences—the most excellent salutations to him!—returned from the station of Hodaybiah and arrived in Madinah, Abu Bassyr, who was an ally of Abu Zohrah, professed the faith, fled from Mekkah, and, performing the journey on foot, arrived in the space of seven days in Madinah. On that occasion Ahsan B. Sharyq and Azhar B. A'bd A'wuf wrote a letter to the apostle of God and sent it by a man named Kawther, of the tribe Bani A'amer. This epistle of the idolaters Abu B. Ka'b conveyed to his lordship, who learnt from the contents thereof that he was in conformity with the Treaty of Peace of Hodaybiah required to send back Abu Bassyr. His holy and prophetic lordship accordingly surrendered the

[237] Qurân ch. xlviii. begins with these words.

man to them, whereon Abu Bassyr exclaimed: 'O apostle of God, sendest thou me to the idolaters, who will certainly persecute and injure me, and will suggest to me doubts concerning my religion?' But his lordship answered: 'Verily thou knowest that we have made a treaty with the Qoraish, and that treachery is against our religion.'

Distich: A man who breaks a treaty
Is capable also of any other crime.

He also said: 'Depart, therefore, and God will comfort thee and the Musalmâns [who are in Mekkah].' The noble companions likewise took affectionate leave of Abu Bassyr, whereon the above-mentioned two idolaters started with him to Mekkah. When they reached Dhu-l-halyfah they halted to rest themselves, but Abu Bassyr entered the mosque, prayed with two flexions, and then placed his provisions in front of himself, offering them also to his two companions, who, however, replied: 'We have no need of thy food.' Then Abu Bassyr said with perfect kindness and affability: 'Had you invited me to partake of your victuals, I would have complied with your wish.' Hereat they were ashamed, brought forth their food, and all ate together. They were conversing with each other familiarly; Abu Bassyr asked for the name and genealogy of the A'ameri, and said: 'Thy sword appears to be a good one.' The A'ameri then drew it from the scabbard, and said: 'It is a very excellent sword; I have often tried it, and found it efficient.' Abu Bassyr replied: 'Show me the sabre, that I may examine it.' Hereon the A'ameri, being careless and unsuspicious, gave his sharp scimitar to Abu Bassyr, whereon the latter killed him with a single blow of it. Kawther [the surviving A'ameri] made his appearance in Madinah about the afternoon prayers, and waited on his lordship, who, catching sight of him from a distance, said: 'This is a man who has returned.' According to another tradition, he said: 'Verily this man is frightened.' While this man was relating that he had escaped death, and was even now in danger of being killed, Abu Bassyr also arrived, girded with the sword of the [killed] A'ameri and

riding on a camel. He waited on his lordship, and said: 'O apostle of God, thou hast kept thy word, and hast sent me back, but God the Most High and Glorious has delivered me from their hands.' His lordship replied: 'He would indeed be a firebrand of war if anyone were to aid him.' By these word he alluded to the flight of Abu Bassyr, and hinted that the professors of Islâm, who were guarded and restrained in Mekkah, ought to [follow his example and] join him. Therefore as soon as Abu Bassyr had understood the import of these words he fled immediately, not halting in any place till he reached the station of A'yss, which was on the seashore. Fârûq then sent to the professors of monotheism, who were confined in Mekkah, a message of what his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—had said concerning Abu Bassyr, and when Abu Jundal had heard these words he preferred flight to permanency, and joined Abu Bassyr. In course of time the Musalmâns fled one by one [from Mekkah] to join him, so that, according to the tradition giving the smallest number, at least seventy of them assembled around him, and as the caravans of the Qoraish usually passed through that locality [*i.e.*, the station of A'yss], they watched their opportunity and plundered them. The idolaters being distressed by this proceeding, despatched Abu Sofyân B. Harb to his lordship—u. w. b.—to request him through the intercession of another individual [who had influence with the prophet] to summon Abu Bassyr and his comrades to Madinah, and [this having been done] the Qoraish revoked the condition [of the Treaty of Hodaybiah] that any one of them taking refuge with Muhammad should be surrendered to them. Therefore that manifester of pity complied with the request of the opponents, and wrote a letter to Abu Bassyr ordering him and his friends to come to Madinah; that epistle, however, reached Abu Bassyr when he was in the agony of death. He nevertheless took it into his hands, rubbed it over his face, complaining of the hardship of separation, till he was received into the mercy of God and [departed to the gardens of paradise.

Abu Jundal with all his companions shrouded and buried Abu Bassyr, started for Madinah, and after performing the journey waited on the prince of former and of latter days.

AMBASSADORS ARE SENT TO THE SOVEREIGNS, RULERS, AND JUDGES OF THAT EPOCH.

When the apostle began to entertain the idea of sending letters to the Sultâns of various countries inviting them to profess Islâm, many persons represented to him that, according to the usages of kings, letters bearing no seal are considered worthless; therefore the prince of men and best of the sons of Adam—u. w. b.—ordered a ring to be made of gold, and his example was followed by the companions, all of whom put rings on their fingers. Then his lordship ordered a ring to be made of silver, the circle and the full seal whereof are also said to have been of silver. He ordered the words Muhammad, apostle of Allah,' to be engraved thereon in three lines, which having been done, the words 'of Allah' appeared on the first, 'apostle' on the second, and 'Muhammad' on the third line.[338] After that he ordered six epistles addressed to six of the adjoining kings to be written, and handed each of them to one of his companions, whereon they departed to their respective destinations.

The letter to the Najjâshy, the King of Abyssinia, was given to A'mru B. Ommyah Dhomayry; that of Harkal the Hákum of Rûm[339] to Dahyah Kalby; the epistle of Khosru Parviz, the Sovereign of Persia, to A'bdullah B. Hudâqah Sahmy; the letter of Maqôqush,[340] the Governor of Alexandria, to Háttub B. Abu Multa'ah: the letter of Hâreth B. Abu Shammâr, King of Syria, to Shujaa' B. Wohb Asdy; and the letter of Haud Jayfy, Governor of Yamamah, was given to Salytt B. A'mru A'amery.

[338] The inscription, to be read from below upwards, was, 'Muhammad, apostle of Allah.'

[339] *I.e.*, Heraclius, Emperor of Byzantium.

[340] Ce gouverneur était un Egyptien de naissance qu'on appellait Makaukès.—Reinaud, 'Notice sur Mahomet,' p. 28.

When O'mru B. Ommyah Dhomayry delivered the letter to his majesty the Najjàshy, King of Abyssinia, he descended from the throne of dignity, sat down on the ground of humility, and ordered the exalted letter to be read in the assembly. The said letter began with the praise and glorification of Allah the Most High and an allusion to I'sa [Jesus]—u. w. b.—concluding with an invitation to the Najjashy to make profession of Islam. As soon as the king had understood the contents of the noble epistle of his holy and prophetic lordship, he immediately made his profession of the Faith, and, having written a handsome reply, he despatched it to Madinah. Accordingly, when the Najjàshy died, the apostle of God said: 'Pray for your companion,' and ordered funeral orisons to be held; and though the corpse of the Najjàshy was not present, his lordship held prayers with four *Takbyrs*. The people, however, not aware of his being a believer, said: 'How does he [*i.e.*, the prophet] recite prayers for an individual who was not a Musalmàn and died in Abyssinia?' Therefore the Most High and Glorious revealed the verse, 'There are some of those who have received the scriptures who believe in Allah,'[341] as far as the words 'swift in taking an account.'[342]

As for Dahyah Kalby, who had received orders from his lordship first to go to Bossra, in Syria, and to request the governor of that place to send a man with him for the purpose of conveying the august epistle to Heraclius, he acted as he had been told, but when he arrived at Bossra the governor of that region was at Hamss, to which place Dahyah followed him. There the Governor of Bossra gave him a man to assist him to convey the joy-boding and felicity-bringing letter of the asylum of apostleship—u. w. b.—to Heraclius, the Emperor of Byzantium, who was at that time on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is related that Heraclius had made a vow that in case he should recover some Byzantine provinces which Khosru Parviz had occupied, and if the Greeks conquered the

[341] Quran, ch. iii. 198. [342] *Ibid.*, 199.

Persians, he would walk barefooted from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and would offer his adoration to God the Most High in the farther temple. When, therefore, the [Byzantine] Greeks had, by Divine favour, vanquished the Persians, as is related in detail in historical works, the Qaissar was anxious to fulfil his vow, ordered carpets to be spread along the road, strewed with roses and aromatic flowers, and having in this manner journeyed to Jerusalem, he fulfilled his vow. The Qaissar was one day reclining, sad and melancholy, on the throne of sovereignty in the just-mentioned holy city, and some courtiers said on that occasion to him: 'We behold thee sad and grieved, but know not the cause.' He replied: 'I have yesterday learnt from the position of the heavenly bodies that the king of the circumcised has made his appearance, and that they will soon stretch forth the hand of tyranny to this region and kingdom of ours. I wonder what people they are who practise circumcision?' They answered: 'There is no other nation except the Jews who do so, and it will be proper to write to the governors of the provinces to kill every Jew they can find.' Meanwhile it was brought to the notice of the Qaissar that a courier had arrived from Hâreth B. Abu Shammâr Ghusâry, the Governor of Syria, and had brought with him an Arab, who was narrating a strange event which had taken place in Arabia in consequence of the vicissitudes of time. The Qaissar accordingly ordered the Arab to be brought in. examined him on the subject, and received the following answer: 'Among us a man has appeared who says that he is a prophet. Many believe his words and obey him, while others accuse him of falsehood and reject his claims. The dispute of the two parties ended with bloodshed, and many have been killed on both sides.' Hereon the Qaissar said: 'Take this man into a corner and see whether he is circumcised or not.' On examination it was found that his prepuce had been cut off. The Qaissar then asked him: 'Is circumcision a custom among the Arabs?' He said: 'Yes.' Heraclius continued: 'What has become known to me

from astrological indications points to the appearance of the king of this nation.' It is related that when Dahyah arrived with the messenger of the Governor of Syria at the court of the Qaissar, he said to the courtiers: 'I have brought a letter from Madinah.' They replied to him: 'When thou perceivest the emperor, prostrate thyself before him, or else he will not accept thy letter.' Dahyah replied: 'I prostrate myself to no one except to the Creator;' and these words frightened the Greeks. In short, Dahyah obtained an audience and delivered his letter; but when the superscription thereof was perceived to be in Arabic, an interpreter had to be called. That pleasant epistle contained an invitation to profess the Musalmân religion and to abstain from Satanic superstitions. It terminated with the verse 'O ye to whom the Scriptures have been given, come to a just determination between us and you, that we worship Allah alone, and associate nothing with Him, and that the one of us take not the other for lords, but Allah alone; if, however, they turn back, say: Bear witness that we are true believers.'[343] When Heraclius had understood the contents of the letter, he said to his courtiers: 'Search whether there is in this country any man who follows the individual who pretends to be a prophet, so that we may examine him minutely concerning the affairs of Muhammad.' The people then made inquiries, and happened to discover Abu Sofyân B Harb, who had at that time arrived in the country with a number of the Qoraish for the purpose of trading. They were all brought to Jerusalem by order of Heraclius. Abu Sofyân says: 'One day when Heraclius was sitting on the throne of royalty with his ministers, grandees, and nobles of the kingdom, as well as Sabæans and monks, all in their proper places, we were brought into the assembly. When the Qaissar perceived us he ordered the interpreters to ask us: "Who of you is nearest to the man who claims to be a prophet?" To this question of the interpreter I replied: "With respect to consanguinity, I am the nearest to him among

[343] Qurân, ch. iii. 57.

these men." He continued: "What relationship is th between thee and him?" I replied: "We are cousin After that Heraclius said: "Bring him nearer to me, a keep his companions in his rear, so that if he speaks " they may not be ashamed to look him in the face, ' [nevertheless] accuse him of falsehood." He then said the interpreter: "Tell these men that I shall ask A Sofyân about several things concerning that man who la claim to prophecy, and if he tells a lie they must appr me thereof."' Abu Sofyân continues: 'First Heracli asked: "What is the origin and family of that man am you?"

'*A. S.:* His family is noble in our tribe.

'*H.:* Has anyone before him made such a claim in yo nation?

'*A. S.:* No.

'*H.:* Has any of his fathers and ancestors enjoyed great a dignity, or that of royalty?

'*A. S.:* No.

'*H.:* Do the rich and the strong, or the poor and weak, among you follow him?

'*A. S.:* Mostly the poor and the weak.

'*H.:* Are his followers day by day increasing or diminis ing?

'*A. S.:* They are augmenting.

'*H.:* Is anyone hating his religion?

'*A. S.:* No.

'*H.:* Is he committing treachery or breaking any agr ment?

'*A. S.:* Heretofore he has not done so; but now a trea of peace has been concluded between us and him, but know not whether he will keep it or not.'

Abu Sofyân continues: 'After these words I could sa nothing to disparage Muhammad; but I swear by G that the Qaissar took no notice of my embarrassment, bu continued to question me:

'*H.:* Has there been war and strife between you an him?

'*A. S.*: Yes.

'*H.*: What was the result?

'*A. S*: Sometimes we were victorious and sometime he, namely, on the day of Bedr and in the battle of Ohod [respectively].

'*H.*: What is it he desires you to do?

'*A. S.*: To adore the Lord who has no equal; he also tells us not to associate any partner with Him, to renounce the dogmas and acts of our forefathers, to practise orisons, fasting, truth, alms-giving, modesty, and kindness towards our relatives.

'*H.*: First I asked about the family of this man, and thou hast replied that he is of noble descent among you. Be aware that prophets and apostles are of noble descent, so that the dust of shame and dishonour may not settle on the skirts of anyone who follows them. Then I asked whether any one before him had in your country broached similar claims, and thou hast replied in the negative; because if any one had done so, I would say that he follows and imitates another man in his assertions. I asked whether anyone of his forefathers had been a king, and thou hast said no; for if any one of his ancestors had been a sovereign, I would say that he wants to make his claim to prophecy a stepping-stone to the kingdom of his father. Then I asked whether the strong and the wealthy, or the feeble and the poor, are following him, and thou hast said that the weak and the poor adhere to him; but mostly such people follow prophets. I asked whether his followers are augmenting or decreasing, and thou hast said that they are on the increase. Such is the case with religion, which is augmented by degrees until it is completed. I further asked whether anyone hates his law and again abandons his religion, and thou hast replied in the negative. True religion is such that the sweetness thereof settles in the hearts and becomes mixed with the soul. I further asked whether he had among you ever been accused of lying, and thou hast said no. This indicates that a man who abstains from deceiving men will not utter falsehoods about God the

Most High. I asked what was the result of your fighting, and thou hast replied that sometimes thy party, and at others his, was victorious. Such is the case with prophets and apostles, that on some occasions they are tried by reverses, but are at last distinguished by victory and conquest. I further asked whether he commits treachery, and thou hast denied it. Prophets do not break treaties, because their object is eternal beatitude, and whoever covets [only] pleasure in this world will fail to keep his covenants. I asked what he had enjoined you, and thou hast replied that he commanded you to adore God the Most High, to believe in His unity, to hold prayers, to keep fasts, and the like. These are the most approved qualities and customs of prophets, and if what thou hast said about Muhammad is in accordance with truth, he will soon conquer these regions, and they will obey his behests. I knew for a certainty that such a prophet will be sent, but I had no idea that he would be of your nation. Had I suspected that I would be blessed by being allowed to kiss his feet, I would have made haste to do so, and would have been honoured by meeting, following, and obeying him.'

After that Heraclius caused the letter of the apostle of God to be brought and to be read in the assembly, and I saw that from awe of it water trickled down his forehead. He expressed what he had in his mind, whereon conversations and disputes arose in the assembly, voices became loud, plaints and lamentations resounded, and we were led out from the hall of audience. Abu Sofyân continues: 'When we came out of the court of Heraclius I said to my companions: "The affairs of the son of Kabshah[344] have reached such a pitch that the King of the Greeks[345] fears him.'

Some allege that Abu Kabshah was a man of the tribe Kozaa', who had opposed the Qoraish, and who, having abandoned idolatry, worshipped the Dog-star [Syrius], and

[344] Opprobrious epithet of Muhammad described in Note 256.

[345] The original words are *Bani-l-asfar*, 'the tribe [literally the sons] of the yellow,' because the complexion of the Greeks was fair or yellowish.

sometimes the Qoraish called his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—likewise by that name, on account of his opposition to their religion. Others, however, are of opinion that this was the name of one of his lordship's ancestors, it being customary among the Arabs, when they want to insult a man, to call him by the name of one of his forefathers who was worthless or of no account. It is not concealed to the luminous intellects of the blessed, who are acquainted with the whole, as well as with the details of the life of the prince of existences, that numerous traditions concerning the interview of Dahyah Kalby with the Qaissar are recorded in biographical works; but if all of them were to be mentioned here they would only fatigue the hearer [or rather reader]. For this reason prolixity has been avoided in this place, and in future the gently trotting [steed, the] reed will likewise abstain from lengthening out its bridle. Guidance, however, and favour come from Allah.

The Boldness and Presumption of Khosru Parviz, and Explanation of what took place among all the Kings after they had perused the Epistles inviting them to believe in the Mission of his Lordship and to acknowledge the Unity of God the Most High.

When A'bdullah B. Hudâqah arrived in the metropolis of Khosru he brought the noble epistle to his notice. When Khosru became acquainted with the contents thereof, and had learnt that the blessed name of his lordship the apostle was written before his own, he became angry, and, tearing the letter to pieces, said:

Distich: 'Who has the boldness, in contempt of my station,
To write his name over mine in this fashion?'

After uttering some more nonsense, he turned to A'bdullah B. Hudâqah, but wrote no answer. When this news was brought to Madinah, his lordship exclaimed: 'Allah has torn his kingdom to pieces;' meaning, 'Khosru has torn my letter to shreds, but God the Most High will tear his

kingdom to pieces.' In his great displeasure and trouble Khosru sent a message of the following purport to Bâdân, his governor in the country of Yemen: 'At present the rumour is current that an individual of the people of Hejâz claims to be a prophet in the Arab country. Send two of thy confidential and shrewd men to capture and to bring that individual to me.' Bâdân obeyed the orders of the Kesra, and appointed his treasurer, who was adorned with the decorations of intellect and bravery, and whose name was Bâbuyah, to depart in the company of another man named Khar-Kharah, who was also noted for his excellent qualities, to the country of Arabia and to convey his lordship to Khosru Parviz. He also wrote a letter with reference to this subject, which he sent to the apostle of God, whose circumstances Bâbuyah was to examine and to ascertain. Both these individuals, who were Persians, started according to the instructions they had received, and when they arrived in Ttâyf they happened to meet a number of Qoraish chiefs, such as Abu Sofyân and Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, with others who were there at that time. They made inquiries about the habitation of the prince of existences—to whom the most excellent salutations—and the Qoraish idolaters were delighted, saying: 'The business of Muhammad cannot succeed, since a king like the Kesra has become his enemy.' After duly performing the distance, the messengers of Bâdân arrived at last in the assembly of the prince of former and of latter times, in which Bâbuyah commenced to speak as follows: 'The Shâhanshah [Khosru] has written a letter to Bâdân, who is his governor in the country of Yemen, ordering him to send thee with some confidential persons to the court, and the viceroy Bâdân has appointed me to convey thee to the residence of Khosru Parviz, if thou desirest to accompany us, so that Bâdân may write a letter to the king of kings, which will be advantageous to thee, and will cause him to draw the line of pardon over what has been done by thee. If, however, thou refusest, thou art aware of the Kesra's severity and power. Thou knowest what kind of a man he is, that he

will destroy thee with thy people, will ravage thy country, and transform it into a desert. See! Bâdân has sent thee a letter, inviting thee to obey and to start with us.' Then the epistle of the governor of Yemen was handed to his holy and prophetic lordship, who, when he had heard and understood the contents thereof, smiled, and invited the envoys to make profession of Islám, but they replied: 'Muhammad, rise, and let us go to the king of kings, for if thou refusest the Shâhanshah will not leave a single Arab alive, and will expel the inhabitants from their country.

It is related that, although Bâbuyah and Khar-Kharah uttered impertinent words and spoke very boldly, they were nevertheless so awestruck by the dignity of the august assembly that their whole bodies trembled in such a manner that their joints almost separated from each other. In that audience they also requested his holy and prophetic lordship that if he would not come himself [at least] to write a reply to Bâdân's letter. His lordship, however, said: 'Return ye to-day to your lodging, and come again to-morrow, that I may see what is proper.' When the messengers left the prophet, the one said to the other: 'Had he retained us any longer in his assembly, we might possibly have died from awe of him.' The other said: 'In my whole life I have not experienced sensations like those which overpowered me this day in the company of that man. He appears to be aided by Divine favour, and his affair is the affair of God.'

It is related that Babuyah and Khar-Kharah wore golden bracelets on their arms, were dressed in garments of brocade, and wore belts of silver. Their beards were shaved, but they had moustaches covering their lips. When his lordship beheld them attired in this style, he exclaimed: 'Woe betide you! Who has ordered you to turn out in this shape? For verily you are worthy to be burnt in fire! Who has commanded you to shave your beards and to leave your moustaches?' They replied: 'Our nourisher, namely, Khosru Parviz.' The apostle of God then said:

'But my nourisher has ordered me to clip my moustache and to leave my beard.'

In short, when the next day the envoys of Bâdàn [again] waited on the elected one of the Bountiful Sovereign, he said: 'Tell your master [Bâdân] that my nourisher will this night kill his lord, namely, Khosru, and has appointed his own son Shiruiah to rip open his belly after seven hours of the night have elapsed.' That night was Tuesday, the tenth of the month Jomâdi the first, in the seventh year after the Flight His lordship further said to the envoys: 'Tell your master that my religion will soon make its appearance in the realm of the Kesra, and that I shall allow him to retain all his possessions on condition that he becomes a Musalmân.' They replied: 'We shall write down these words, but reports of less import than these [words of thine] have been made to thee concerning the king of kings, and have become the occasion of all this enmity and disquietude; and threats like these are sure to call for vengeance.' His holy and prophetic lordship said: 'Write [whatever you like].' Then he presented Khar-Kharah with a belt of wrought silver and gold, which had been sent to his lordship by a king [on some former occasion].

The envoys having been dismissed without a letter by his lordship, departed from Madinah and afterwards arrived in Yemen, where they reported to Bâdân everything they had learnt about the apostle of God, and saying: 'O governor, we have had audiences of many kings, but, by Allah! we were not afraid in any assembly as in the company of that man.' Bâdân asked: 'Is he maintaining any spies and guards?' They said: 'No; he walks about alone in the bazaars.' Bâdân continued: 'I swear by God that whatever is related about him does not resemble the words of kings. I think he is a prophet, and if his prediction proves true, none of the kings shall forestall me in obeying and following him.' Meanwhile a letter addressed to Bâdân arrived from Shiruiah,[346] the son

[346] About Khosru Parviz, Shiruiah, and their reigns, see Part I., vol. ii., of this series, pp. 396-401.

of Khosru Parviz, of the following import: 'I have slain the Kesra because he has destroyed the nobles and grandees of Persia without being provoked thereto by treachery or guilt, which might have afforded a just reason for shedding their blood, and because he has thrown the stumbling-block of contention into the assembly of the great men of this country. My commands to thee are, to obey me, ordering the inhabitants of Yemen, and of all the provinces under thy sway, to do so likewise, and to receive their [declarations of] allegiance to me; [I also order thee] not to injure the man who claims to be a prophet in Arabia, and concerning whom the [late] Kesra had written a letter to thee, until further orders from me concerning this matter.' As soon as Bâdân had perused this document, he uttered the profession of the Faith without the least delay, and with much sincerity, being followed therein by all the inhabitants of Yemen and Persia who had accepted Islâm in that country. It is related that Khar-Kharah, to whom his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—had presented a belt, was surnamed Dhu-l-mafakhrah, the word 'Mafakhrah' meaning 'girdle' in the Hemyaritic language, and that name is borne by his descendants even at present.

In Alexandria when Hattub B. Abu Multa'ah delivered the august letter of his lordship the prophet of God to Maqóqush, the governor of that city, he was received with great honours. The governor replied with handsome expressions, placed the letter in an ivory casket, invited Hattub to a private apartment, and examined him about the affairs and circumstances of that prince. When Hattub had explained the angelic character of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—Maqoqush said: 'This is the description of the prophet whose advent I'sa [Jesus], the son of Maryam — u. w. b. — had predicted. He will hereafter prevail, and his companions will enter our land.' Then he wrote a very friendly reply, and presented Hâttub with four girls, one white mule called Dildil, one eunuch, twenty garments, one thousand mithqáls of gold, and five robes,

but refrained from making his profession of the Faith. When Hâttub arrived in Madinah with the presents of Maqôqush and the letter, his sacred and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—said: 'The wicked man was covetous for his *realm, but it will not endure.' It is related that [in conformity* with this prediction] Maqôqush died during the Khalifate of Fârûq the Great [*i.e.*, Omar]. As to those four girls, his lordship retained one, whose name was Mâryah the Copt, for himself as a concubine, and begat with her Ebrâhim. Another maiden, the sister of the former, named Shyryn, he bestowed upon Hasân B. Thâbet, and placed the brand of selection on Dildil for his own special use, but after the demise of the lord of existences—u. w. b.—A'li—may Allah ennoble his countenance! —used to ride that mule, which [afterwards] perished in the time of Moa'wiah.

When Shujaa' B. Wohb Asdy arrived on the frontiers of Syria he heard that Hâreth B. Abu Shammàr Ghusâny was in the Ghautah of Damasus,[347] engaged in the preparations necessary for the pilgrimage of Heraclius to the locality of the prophets; *i.e.*, Jerusalem. Therefore Shujaa' went to the Ghautah, and forwarded the most noble epistle to [the governor] Hâreth, through one of his chamberlains, in whose heart the love for Islâm had taken root. When the king [or rather governor] of Syria had perused the letter, he threw it to the ground, uttering disgraceful words to the effect that he would make haste to combat his lordship. He also ordered horses to be shod and despatched a letter to Heraclius, informing him of the arrival of Shujaa' B. Wohb and of his intention to attack Muhammad. Heraclius, however, sent a reply that he should give up his intention and hasten to the court, for the purpose of taking measures appropriate to the circumstances. Thereon Hâreth dismissed Shujaa' with a gift of one hundred mithqâls of gold, and when the latter arrived in Madinah he made his report, to which his lordship replied: 'May the kingdom of Hâreth perish!' Therefore Hâreth died in the

[347] *Ghautah* is the district around the city.

year of the victory of Mekkah, and was succeeded on the throne by Haylah B. Abhân Ghusány, whose conversion to Islâm will be narrated in the proper place if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

When Salytt B. A'mru A'amery delivered the glorious epistle of his prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to Haudah B. Hanfy, the latter became acquainted with the contents thereof, showed great honours to Salytt, appointed a pleasant mansion for his lodging, entertained him hospitably, and wrote in reply to the letter as follows: 'How beautifully evident is that to which thou invitest the people! I am, however, the poet and the priest of my nation, and the Arabs respect me greatly. Make me a governor of one of thy provinces, and I shall obey thee.' After that he invested Salytt with costly robes, treated him with royal honours, and dismissed him. When Salytt arrived in Madinah he narrated what he had seen, and delivered the letter, but his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said: 'If he were to ask me for a date which had fallen to the ground I would not give it to him. Let him and his kingdom perish!' It is related that when the apostle of God conquered Mekkah, and was returning, Jebrâil brought the death of Haudah to the exalted notice of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—who said: 'After this a mendicant will make his appearance in Yamâmah, and will pretend to be a prophet, and will after my time be slain.' But he had not yet departed this life when Moseyamah, the liar of Yamâmah, claimed to be a prophet, and was killed during the Khalifate of Ssiddyq Akbar,[348] as shall be narrated in detail in this volume if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

In this year also the blessed verse, 'Now hath Allah heard the speech of her who disputed with thee concerning her husband, and made her complaint unto Allah,'[349] was revealed; the reason being that between Khawla, the daughter of Tha'labah B. Qays, and between her husband,

[348] *I.e.*, Abu Bakr, the immediate successor of the prophet.
[349] Qurân, ch. lviii. begins with the above words.

Awus B. Ssâmat, divorce had taken place; and that when she asked his lordship, 'What is the remedy for this pain?' he could give no reply, because he had not yet received any Divine command on the subject. She therefore prostrated herself in her great distress, and prayed as follows: 'My God, I complain to Thee of my loneliness, desolation, and separation from my husband.' But she had not yet raised her head from the prostration when the verses concerning the formula of divorce[350] were revealed. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—then called Awus, recited to him the verses just revealed, and said: 'Manumit a slave, and then have connection with Khawla.' Awus replied: 'I am too poor to liberate a slave.' His lordship thereon said: 'Fast two continuous months.' When, however, Awus again demurred, saying: 'O apostle of God, if I do not eat twice or thrice a day, my eyes become obscured,' the prophet rejoined: 'Then feed sixty poor men.' Awus said: 'Aid me in this matter.' His lordship accordingly presented him with fifteen *Saa'* [measures] of food to enable him to atone for the words, 'Thou art to me as the back of my mother,' which he had said to his wife. During this year his holy and prophetic lordship also gave permission to hold races between camels and horses. It is said that his lordship possessed a camel, named *Ghadzabmâ*, which no other camel was able to overtake; one day, however, an Arab [of the desert] made his weak camel race with the she-camel of the apostle of God, and overtook *Ghadzabmâ*, which occurrence displeased the companions; but his lordship, the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—endeavoured to pacify them, saying: 'The truth is with Allah! He exalts nothing which he does not abase.' One of the consequences of this axiom and confirmation of those circumstances was the misfortune of the inhabitants of Khayber, who [at last] obtained tranquillity after all their trouble.

[350] The form in use among the Arabs in the time of ignorance was 'Thou art [henceforth] to me as the back of my mother.'

THE VICTORY OF KHAYBER.

One of the great events of this year was the victory of Khayber, the details whereof are as follows: When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—returned from Hodaybiah he ordered, after a stay of some days in Madinah, the chiefs of the Mohâjer and the Anssâr to get the army ready for a campaign in the direction of Khayber, and added: 'No one sha'l march out with me except to fight for the religion.' He meant by those words: 'Let no one accompany me who covets the goods of this world, and whose whole mind is bent on pillage.' Therefore the hypocrites and infidels who dwelt in Madinah were greatly displeased with his lordship's intention to march to Khayber, because they knew that the professors of Islâm would deal with the Jews of Khayber in the same manner as they had dealt with the Bani Qoryttah and the Bani An-natzyr Jews; and on account of the rage they were in, every Jew took a heavy pledge from any Musalmân who happened to be indebted to him. It is related that A'bdullah B. Abu Hadhrah Solmy owed five dirhems to Abu Shâhm, the Jew, and that the latter troubled him much for this paltry sum. Once A'bdullah said to him: 'God the Most High and Glorious has promised that the professors of Islam will obtain possession of the property of the inhabitants of Khayber, respite me, [therefore], in this matter for a short time until the victory of Khayber takes place and I gain some booty.' Abu Shahm replied: 'Do not compare the war of the Khayber Jews with other campaigns! By the truth of the Torathah, there are ten thousand men in Khayber! Threatenest thou us with the vengeance of an enemy whilst thou art thyself living under our protection?' A'bdullah says: 'We quarrelled so much that I went to the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—to whom I represented my case. His lordship said nothing to the Jew, but moved his blessed lips, and muttered something which I could not understand. Thereon the Jew exclaimed: "O father of Qâsim, this man has taken what

belongs to me, and keeps it." His lordship said: "Give him his due."' A'bdullah continues: 'I had two robes, and I sold one of them for three dirhems, to which I added two more and paid my debt to the Jew. Then Solmah B. Aslam presented me with two robes, to which I added two more and departed to Khayber. In that campaign Allah the Most High and Glorious blessed me with many favours, and by Divine grace one of the captured women, who was a relative of Abu Shahm, fell to my lot, and when we returned to Mekkah I sold her to him at her full price.'

In fine, after the preparations for the Ghaza had been completed, the apostle of God appointed Asbaa' B. A'rfattah Ghuffáry to be his lieutenant in Madinah, and marched with one thousand four hundred valiant slayers of infidels from the residence of nobility and excellence. He ordered A'káshah Asdy to take charge of the vanguard, and O'mar B. Alkhattáb of the right wing. Some of the best writers of later times allege that another companion, but several biographers relate that A'li, the commander of the Faithful —u. w. b.—was entrusted with the left wing. This statement is however unfounded, because, according to correct traditions, A'li Mortadza—u. w. b.—was not present with the army in the beginning, and when he joined it his lordship the apostle gave the banner into his hands, by which the victory was gained, as shall be narrated farther on if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

It is related that A'bdullah B. Salúl, the hypocrite, sent the following message to the Jews of Khayber: 'Muhammad intends to extirpate you, therefore you must use foresight. You are not to fortify yourself in a stronghold, but you must fight him in the plain, because you surpass him in the greatness of your numbers and appliances.' When the inhabitants of Khayber knew that his lordship, the best of men, was marching against them, they sent Kunánah B. Abu-l-haqyq with another man to their allies —*i.e.*, to the tribe Ghuttfán—for aid. According to one tradition the latter would not at all comply with the request of the Khàyberites, but according to another four

thousand combatants of that tribe sallied out; as, however, they heard at the first station a voice from heaven uttering the words, 'You will be plundered,' they again returned. In other books it is recorded that they heard a sound and movement in their rear, and imagined that the Musalmâns had entered their habitations to plunder them, therefore they became frightened and retraced their steps. This, however, was a miracle of the miracles of the apostle—u. w. b. At that time their governor was Sollâm B. Sakan, in whose house the chiefs of the Jews assembled, and consulted whether it would be better to march out and fight or to defend themselves in their forts. Sollám exclaimed: 'A'bdullah B. Salûl's advice is best. March out, and do not expose yourselves to the miseries of a siege.' But according to the proverb, 'When fate decides, human reason is blind,' their eyes of foresight became obscured, so that they refused to act according to the advice of Sollam, remained in their forts, strengthening them, and preparing themselves for enduring a siege. Solmah B. Alâkwa' says: 'When we marched out of Madinah in the august retinue of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and advanced towards Khayber, one A'amer B. Lasán B. Alakwa' recited during the night march some verses in the Rajaz measure at the request of a companion, so that the camels progressed with great celerity, and the time of the companions passed pleasantly. His lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—then asked, "Who is the driver?" and the people replied, "Such and such a man." He continued, "May Allah have mercy upon him!" and concerning whomsoever his lordship uttered this invocation he was sure to attain martyrdom. Farúq, who happened to hear the above words, said: "O apostle of God! why hast thou not prayed that A'amer may attain a long life?"' There is a tradition that when A'amer ceased to recite the verses for speeding the camels, his lordship ordered A'bdullah B. Ruâhah to commence his strains for driving, and with reference to him the prophet [again] uttered the words, 'Allah, have mercy upon him!' He accordingly obtained the dignity of martyrdom in the

Ghazâ at Mowtah, as shall be narrated by the reed of explanation if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

When the army of Islâm had reached the station of Saabâ, his lordship—after holding the vesper-time and nocturnal prayers—ordered the army to be led in the direction between Ghuttfân and Khayber so as to hinder the Ghuttfân tribe to give assistance to the Jews; and with the help of Jamyl, who was an intelligent guide, the Musalmâns continued their march by the way of Marjab. The apostle of God despatched A'bâd B. Bashyr with twenty troopers to reconnoitre, who captured a man whom the inhabitants had sent as a spy. A'bâd asked him: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am a camel-driver, and am looking for my beasts who have strayed.' He further asked: 'What knowest thou about the Jews of Khayber?' The spy replied: 'They have despatched Kunânah B. Abu-l-haqyq and Houdah B. Qays, and Ahly to their sworn confederates, *i.e.*, to the tribe of Ghuttfân to ask for help; and their request having been complied with, O'tbâh B. Bedr has, with a great multitude of valiant men entered the fort of Khayber, so that at present ten thousand warriors consider a social banquet and the battle-field equally attractive, and are waiting for an opportunity to fight Muhammad.' A'bâd said: 'I fancy thou art a spy of the enemy.' And having administered to him a good whipping to sober down his bravado, he continued: 'Tell the truth, for if thou statest falsehoods thy life will not be spared.' The Arab said: 'Give me quarter and I shall tell thee the truth.' His request having been complied with, he continued: 'The people are under great apprehensions about you, and terror has overpowered their minds lest you should deal with them as you have acted towards the Jews of Yathrab, *i.e.*, the Bani An-natzyr and the Bani Qoryttah. The hypocrites of Madinah have also sent a message to the inhabitants of Khayber as follows: "Muhammad is marching against you, but be not afraid. and let nothing dismay you. Be firm in fighting and combating him, because your army exceeds his forces greatly,

and his weapons are few and insignificant in comparison with yours." After this message had been brought by the courier of A'bdullah B. Salûl and his followers, Kunânah B. Abu-l-haqyq sent me to ascertain the number of your army.' A'bâd conveyed this spy into the presence of the lord of existences, and made his report. Fârûq the greater desired this spy to be killed, but A'bâd said: 'I have granted him quarter.' Accordingly he surrendered to A'bâd his spy, who thereon immediately made his profession of the Faith, and was thus delivered from the grasp of death.

When his lordship caught sight of Khayber he ordered his companions to halt, and uttered the following words: 'O God, Lord of the seven heavens and what is around them, and Lord of the seven earths and what is upon them, and Lord of the Satans and of those whom they seduce, I ask Thee for the welfare of this town and for the good which is therein, and I take refuge with Thee from its evil, and from the evil which is therein.' It was his habit to utter these words with his wonderfully eloquent tongue at the sight of strong localities; and after announcing them, he turned—according to a certain tradition—his blessed countenance to the companions, saying: 'Enter ye, with the blessing of Allah!' And—according to another tradition—he exclaimed: 'Approach, in the name of Allah!' The victory-portending army therefore advanced by order of the apostle of God—to whom be greeting and peace—and after performing the distance his lordship halted in a place called Manzalah, and pointed out a spot to hold prayers in.

It is related that when the inhabitants of Khayber heard of the approach of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—they manifested great watchfulness, and kept mounted warriors day and night on the look-out in the environs. The very night, however, when his lordship arrived God the Most High and Glorious sent a heavy sleep upon the people of Khayber, so that they never awoke until the cocks began to crow, so that even their beasts remained

kept indoors. Near sunrise, however, the Jews awoke from their sleep, taking up baskets and spades in a sad mood and depressed spirits, and going out with the intention to work in their fields. When, however, they perceived the army of Islâm from a distance, they returned and said: 'By Allah, this is Muhammad!' When his holy and prophetic lordship perceived them, he exclaimed: 'God is greatest! I shall ruin Khayber,' etc. The Jews then took refuge in their fort, and when the news of the advent of the army had been communicated to Sollâm B. Mashkam, he said to the people: 'If you have not taken my advice in the beginning, do your best, at any rate, in the present emergency, and fight, because to be killed in war is a thousand times better than to groan in captivity.' The Jews accordingly resolved to fight. They collected their property of various kinds, and kept it in the fort Naa'm, which was a great stronghold, and the valiant combatants assembled in the fortress Natzârah, where, however, Sollâm departed to hell before it was conquered.

His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—encouraged his companions to fight, and promised them the reward of the next world. He also said: 'If you persevere you will conquer.' The army of Islâm then commenced the battle by shooting arrows. On that day, which was very hot, Mahmûd B. Moslamah, brother of Muhammad B. Moslamah, fought long, and being exhausted also by the heat, fell asleep in the shade of Fort Naa'm, imagining that the enemy could not perceive him. But, according to two different traditions, either Kunânah B. Abu-l-haqyq or Marahab the Jew threw a stone at him from the top of the fort. The stone struck his head, and although it broke to pieces, so injured the man that the skin of his forehead hung over his face. The professors of Islâm bore him in this condition to the apostle of God, who replaced the skin on the forehead with his own blessed hands, and bandaged his head with sackcloth; but on account of that wound, Mahmûd nevertheless departed to the gardens of paradise.

On that day Habâb B. Almundhar represented to his dship that the camp of the army, being exposed to the rows from the fort, was in an unsuitable locality; further, it it was in a date-grove, on an unhealthy spot, and exsed to the sorties of the enemy. His advice having been cepted, Muhammad B. Moslamah was ordered to select a oper locality. He accordingly examined the environs, d found the place Rajya' to be a locality fit for the camp. ; holy and prophetic lordship having approved of the ot, said: 'We shall go there to-night.' Accordingly he nt there with his companions after sunset, and appointed thmân B. O'ffân to attend to the pitching and the rangements of the camp, from which the Musalmâns en sallied forth day by day to attack the stronghold.

It is related that one night, when O'mar B. Alkhattâb is on guard over the army of Islâm, a Jew was captured l brought to him. He ordered him to be killed; but the an said: 'Take me to your prophet, because I have mething to tell him.' O'mar complied with the request, d his lordship asked: 'What hast thou to say?' The w said: 'I came from the fort of Natzârah, the garrison iereof is extremely distressed to-day, on account of the rceness of the battle, and dreads the bravery of the ampions of this army. This evening they intend to move to the fort Shaq. They have concealed their proiions and appliances of war in a place known to me, and an point it out to-morrow when the fort is conquered.' s lordship said: 'If it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' ie Jew continued: 'My wife and family are in the fort; ant them to me.' The apostle of God said: 'I shall do ' The following day Natzârah was conquered, and Fort aq likewise, whereon the said Jew, with his adherents, ide profession of the Faith.

t is related that one day the Musalmâns were engaged attacking and besieging the fort of Ssa'b, when the Jew rahab sallied out, and, capering into the lists of ampionship, encountered A'amer — with reference to m his lordship had uttered an invocation for mercy on

the occasion when he was reciting verses to speed the camels—whose head he struck with his sabre. A'amer aimed a blow at Marahab, but accidentally wounded his own knee, and died from that wound.

When marching back from Khayber his holy and prophetic lordship observed during the journey that Solmah Bin Alakwa', the cousin of A'amer, manifested signs of distress and melancholy, and asked him for the reason thereof. According to one tradition, Solmah B. Alakwa' came weeping to his lordship, and said: 'O apostle of God, some of thy companions are telling me that the [good] works of A'amer are useless, because he has perished by his own sword.' But his lordship, uniting [the tips] of his fingers [and holding them up], said: 'Verily he has fought for the religion.' It is related that during the siege of Khayber the Musalmâns suffered from want of provisions, but that one day twenty sheep had come from the fort of Ssa'b, and were browsing in the vicinity, whereon his lordship exclaimed: 'Is there anyone who can take one of these sheep to feed us?' Accordingly Abu-l-yasyr B. A'mru the Anssâri stepped forward, saying: 'O prophet of God, I shall go on that service.' Then he gathered up his skirts, and when the apostle of God saw him running like a fawn, he said: 'O God, cause him to provide for us.' When Abu-l-yasyr arrived with two sheep, which he had taken under his two arms, his lordship the refuge of termination ordered them to be slaughtered and prepared for a repast; nor was there a man in the camp who did not partake thereof. By the life-preserving benediction of his lordship the best of men—u. w. b.—Abu-l-yasyr lived for many years, doing much good to the pious and the righteous—A. h. m. o. h.

It is related that during the siege of the fort of Ssa'b a number of Musalmâns had become very weak from want of food, and were on the brink of starvation. They complained to him who will be the intercessor on the day of resurrection, and requested him to pray that their want might be changed to plenty, and their misery to comfort.

His lordship accordingly addressed a petition to the Courts of Monotheism that the fort containing the greatest quantity of provisions be allowed to fall into the possession of the Musalmâns. He then gave the banner to Habâb B. Almundhar, and ordered the victory-boding army to make a unanimous onslaught. The company which had complained of famine was the first to reach the gate of Fort Ssa'b, and to fight till it had been conquered. The Musalmâns obtained possession of great quantities of clothes with property of all kinds, which they brought out of the fort, as well as of much wine; but, by Divine command, they poured it all on the ground. One Musalmân, however, A'bdullah B. Kumâr by name, being very fond of wine, had taken several draughts thereof. This culprit was accordingly taken by the companions to the apostle of God, and the august mind of that legislator was highly displeased with the act of the transgressor, whom he chastised with his own august shoe, and by order of the apostle of men and demons all who were present in the assembly likewise struck A'bdullah with their sandals, and among the companions O'mar exclaimed: 'By Allah! curse him, that all of us may not be punished for his transgression.' But his holy and prophetic lordship replied: 'O'mar, do not say that, for he loves Allah and His apostle.'

Conquest of the Fort Qumûss, and of all the Strongholds, by the Prowess of A'li the Commander of the Faithful.

When the army of the professors of Islâm was engaged in beleaguering the fort of Qumûss, his holy and prophetic lordship was suffering from headache, and could therefore not be present in the fights, but gave every day audience—in conformity with the inspirations of his luminous mind and the dictates of his sunlike intellect—to the Mohâjer and Anssâr nobles, handing the victorious standard to one

of the companions, and sending him to the battle. As the just-mentioned fortress was extremely strong and well protected, it could not be taken. Therefore Fârûq the greater, having one day received the banner, advanced with a number of the defenders of the glory of Islâm to the base of the fort of the benighted idolaters, but the reflection of victory failed, despite his great efforts, to manifest itself on the speculum of his mind. The next day Ssiddyq the greater took the standard, and hastened with a number of warriors and heroes to fight the professors of aberration. Both parties fought obstinately: he was however, doomed to return unsuccessfully. The third time O'mar B. Alkhattâb again attacked the garrison of Qumûss with great impetuosity, but was disappointed; and when the [sun] the sovereign of luminaries advanced with his golden banner to subdue the regions of the west, the prince of Battha and Yathrab [*i.e.*, of Mekkah and Madinah] uttered with his pearl-dropping and miracle-working lips the following words: 'To-morrow I shall give the standard to no one but to the hero of attack who never flees, who loves God and the apostle, and whom God and the apostle love. Allah will give us the victory through him.'

It is said that A'li—may Allah ennoble his countenance!—was in the beginning of this Ghazâ prevented from taking part therein by ophthalmia, and had remained in Madinah; but his luminous mind could not bear to be separated from his lordship, and therefore he went, in spite of his malady, to kiss the head of the apostle of God, whom he met on the road, but according to another tradition after his arrival in Khayber.

Sahal B. Sa'd Saa'dy says that during that night, when the lord of apostleship had uttered the above-mentioned words, a discussion took place among the companions to which of them he would give the standard [of command]. Burydah Alhassyb narrates that everyone who was related to the apostle imagined he would obtain the banner; and the Qoraish thought that the person alluded to [in the above words] would not be A'li E. Abu Ttâleb, because his eyes were

so affected that he could not see his own footsteps. When, however, the ears of the Commander of the Faithful were loaded with the bright pearls of the words of his lordship the prince of the righteous, he said: 'O God, no one can take what Thou refusest to give, and no one can refuse to accept what Thou choosest to bestow.' Next day, when the eyes of mankind were brightened by the light of the world-illuminating sun, the lucky mortals who were able to clench the sides of tigers in the fire of battle, and to place in the height of the fight their hands into the throats of whales, made their appearance at the holy tent-door of his lordship the refuge of apostleship, and every one thought that this great felicity and excellent gift would fall to his own lot. Sa'd B. Woqqâss says: 'I knelt down opposite to the apostle of Allah, and then rose, hoping to obtain the flag.' It is related of Fârûq the greater that he said: 'I never wished to be commander except on that day.' When his lordship the Mussttafa –u. w. b. –came out of the tent, he asked, 'Where is A'li E. Abu Ttâleb?' and on all sides vociferations arose to the effect of his eyes being sore, and that he could not distinguish his own feet. He, however, commanded: 'Bring him here.' Accordingly A'li was produced, whereon his lordship placed his head upon his own blessed thigh, and threw a little saliva from his blessed mouth into the eyes of A'li. According to another tradition, however, he first poured the saliva on his own hand, then smeared it on A'li's eyes, and said: 'O God, protect him from heat and cold.' A'li Mortadza—u. w. b.—says: 'By the blessing of the apostle of God, after that I no longer felt either cold or hot.' Ebn Abu Layly says: 'During the greatest heat A'li—u. w. b.—used to wear a robe stuffed with cotton, experiencing no inconvenience; and during the most inclement weather a thin garment, without the least injury.' It is related that A'li, having been immediately relieved of his ophthalmia [by the above operation], the prophet handed him the flag, saying: 'Do not look at it until God the Most High and Glorious causes thee to conquer Khayber.' After A'li had advanced a short dis-

tance he shouted: 'O apostle of God, how shall I fight them?' His lordship the prophet replied: 'Fight them till they bear witness that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. If they do that, they and everything they possess will be safe, and their account will be with God.' According to another tradition, A'li the Commander of the Faithful said, when he had received the banner and proceeded a short way: 'O apostle of God, shall I fight them until they become [Musalmâns] like ourselves?' His lordship replied: 'O A'li, do not be in haste to fight, but march till thou arrivest in their midst, and then invite them to accept Islâm, and inform them of the duties imposed upon them by the Almighty; and I swear by God that if a single individual obtains [Divine] guidance from Allah the Most High through thy instrumentality, it will be of more advantage to thee than the red-haired camels which thou givest as alms for the sake of God the Most High and Glorious!'

Some allege that the apostle of God dressed A'li Mortadza in his own cuirass, girded him with the Dhu-l-fiqâr, and handed to him the victorious standard. A'li started, and when he arrived in the vicinity of the fort of Qumúss he erected his banner on a hillock of stones. A Jewish priest then appeared on the rampart, and asked: 'Possessor of the standard, who art thou, and what is thy name?' The lion of attack replied: 'I am A'li, the son of Abu Ttâleb.' The Jew thereon turned to his own people, and said: 'I swear by the Pentateuch that you will be conquered!'

It is related in biographical works that the first men who came out from the stronghold with a legion of assailants was Hâreth the Jew, brother of Maharrab.[351] He attacked the Musalmâns, and caused some of them to attain martyrdom; A'li the Commander of the Faithful, however, approached Hâreth, and sent him to hell with one blow of his scimitar. When Maharrab became aware that his brother had been slain, he put on his armour and sallied forth with a number of men to avenge his death. Maharrab

[351] Marhab'. Reinaud, 'Notice sur Mahomet,' 1860, p. 30.

was a tall and corpulent warrior, the point of whose spear weighed three *Manns*, and none of the combatants of Khayber equalled him in bravery. He wore two cuirasses, and was girded with two swords; he had also two turbans on his head, with a helmet over them. He entered the lists and declaimed Rajaz poetry commencing with the words, 'Verily the people of Khayber know that I am Marfiab!' [*sic*]. As none of the Musalmâns would cope with him in a duel, A'li, the son of Abu Ttâleb, who was the sovereign of men and lion of God, approached him, uttering with his blessed tongue the Rajaz verse, 'I am he whom his mother has surnamed the lion!' Hereon Marhab desired to strike A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—with his sword; but the Amir forestalled him, and inflicted with his Dhu-l-fiqâr such a blow on the head of that ill-fated wretch that it penetrated through the turbans and helmet to his teeth, and some historians relate that it went down to the knob of the saddle. After that the Commander and the commanded set about exterminating the Jews, whereon seven of the principal and most valiant Khayberites fell by the scimitar of the model of saints, the remnant of the Jews retreating to the fort, and A'li—u. w. b.—pursuing them. On that occasion one of the enemies struck the Commander of the Faithful with something, so that his buckler fell down and was snatched up by one of the fugitives. A'li—u. w. b.—became so enraged at this mishap that he went to the fort of Qumûss and used the iron door thereof in lieu of a shield. It is related of the Commander of the Faithful that he said: 'I plucked up the door of Khayber by spiritual, and not by physical, power.' There is a tradition of the Emâm Muhammad Baker—u. w. b.—to the effect that when A'li—may God ennoble his countenance!—took up the door of the fort and shook it the whole fort quaked therewith in such a manner that Ssofyah, the daughter of Hay, was precipitated to the ground from the top of a couch, and her face was wounded. When the lord and refuge of commandership—u. w. b.—had ceased fighting, he projected

the door to a distance of eighty spans over his back, and though seven men of the army of Islâm tried hard, and made a united effort to turn the door from one side to the other, they were unable to succeed. In some biographical works it is related that the weight of the door of Khayber amounted to six hundred *Manns*, whilst some allege that it weighed three thousand *Manns*. They also say that seventy people were unable to lift it up; but the [true] knowledge is with Allah!

In short, when the garrison of the fort of Qumûss and the people of the strongholds of all the Khayberites beheld Hayder [*i.e.*, lion] the Commander of the Believers performing such a wonderful feat, they sued for quarter, which A'li E. Abu Ttâleb granted them, with the permission of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—on condition that every man should be allowed to take a camel with some food, and thus to emigrate from that country, abandoning all the money, arms, and property to the professors of Islâm, without concealing anything, and that, if any article they desired to conceal should be discovered, they would be deprived of quarter in the same way as they had been deprived of [Divine grace to profess] the Faith.

When the news of this victory reached the august hearing of his lordship the apostle, he was glad and rejoiced much; and when A'li desired to wait upon him, he advanced several steps from his tent to meet him, embraced him, kissed both his eyes, and said: 'I am informed of thy laudable efforts and valiant deeds. Allah is pleased with thee, and I am pleased with thee.' According to another tradition, he said: 'I am pleased with thee.' The Amir was moved to tears by these words, whereon his lordship asked: 'Are these tears of joy or of grief?' He replied: 'I weep for joy; and how should I not be pleased when thou art satisfied with me?' The apostle of God said: 'Not only I, but also God the Most High and Glorious, as well as the angels Jebrâil and Mykâyl, are pleased with thee.'

It is related that in the fort of Qumûss, the governor

whereof was Kunánah B. Abu-l-haqyq, one hundred cuirasses, four hundred swords, and one thousand arrows, and five hundred bows were found. Much furniture, other property, and victuals were also collected, and the fifth portion was set aside [according to the usual custom]. It is said that when the fort of Natzárah was conquered, Kunánah had, on account of the fear which he entertained of the Moslems, concealed a camel-hide full of gold and ornaments—received as inheritance—in a certain spot in the desert under ground. It being known to his lordship that the inhabitants of Mekkah were accustomed on festive occasions and marriages to borrow money and trinkets from the Jews and to send them pledges, he entered the fort of Qumúss as soon as it had been conquered, and asked Kunánah in what place his treasures were. The latter, however, with his adherents, replied: 'O father of Qásim, they have been spent in our preparations for the war, and in supplying our daily wants, so that none remain.' The apostle of God rejoined: 'If the contrary of what you say is found to be the case, shall it be licit to shed your blood by withdrawing the [guaranteed] quarter?' They said: 'Yes.' Accordingly his holy and prophetic lordship took Ssiddyq, Fárúq, A'li—Allah reward them—and also a number of Jews as witnesses in this matter. On that occasion one of the Jews of Khayber said to Kunanah: 'If that for which Muhammad asks is with thee, or if thou knowest where it is, inform him of it; or else I swear by God that the Most High and Glorious will give him notice thereof and will put thee to shame.' Kunanah, however, angrily reproved the Jew, and took no warning from his words. Afterwards God revealed the spot of the treasure to His apostle, who then summoned Kunánah, and said: 'I have learnt by Divine inspiration that thou art a liar.' Some historians relate that his holy and prophetic lordship asked Tha'labah, the son of Sollâm Abu-l-haqyq: 'Knowest thou anything about that treasure?' He replied: 'I know nothing, but I have often seen Kunánah roaming about such and such a place in the

desert, and possibly the treasure thou art in search of may be buried there.' Accordingly his lordship the asylum of termination—u. w. b.—despatched Zobeyr with a number of Musalmâns, in conformity with the maxim, 'Who seeketh findeth,' to search for the treasure. When they had discovered it the Jew forfeited his life in consequence of the above-mentioned condition. Therefore his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—surrendered Kunânah to Muhammad B. Moslamah, who slew him in retaliation for his own brother. All the women of the Jews were taken with the property, but their lives were spared, and the professors of Islâm obtained possession of goods and cattle to an incalculable extent, which had belonged to the Khayberites. Ssofyah, the wife of Kunânah, fell to the share of Dahyah Kalby, to whom his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—gave something handsome in return for her. After that he manumitted and wedded her. It is related that before the conquest of Khayber, Ssofyah had dreamt that the moon had fallen into her lap. When she told this to her husband Kunânah, he replied: 'Thou desirest to become the wife of this king who has encamped in our land.' Thereon he struck her so that blue marks appeared under her eyes, which had not yet disappeared when her wedding was consummated, and when his lordship questioned her about them she gave him the above account of the matter.

When the fort of Khayber was conquered, Zaynab—daughter of the Jew Hâreth, and relict of Sollâm, the cousin of Marhab—who knew that the apostle of God was fond of the shoulder and legs of kids, slaughtered one, but mixed poison with those parts which she prepared and sent in the evening by way of a present to his lordship the apostle, who then said to his friends: 'Come, let us sup together.' Accordingly the kid was carved, and when the prophet—u. w. b.—took a piece of meat, and began to masticate it, he exclaimed to his companions: 'Do not eat the kid, because its foreleg says to me: "I have been defiled with poison!"' Bashar B. Abarâ, who had eaten a

morsel of it, then said: 'O apostle of God, while I was chewing it I felt disgust and aversion, but I was unwilling to spit it out, lest I might displease thee.' And before Bashar rose from the meal his complexion changed to black, and after lingering in bad health for one year he departed this life, but according to another tradition he died immediately. The apostle of God then ordered Zaynab and the chiefs of the Jews to be produced, and when they arrived, he asked: 'Will you tell me the truth if I question you?' They replied: 'Yes.' Then he asked: 'Who was your ancestor?' They answered: 'Such and such a man.' He rejoined: 'You lie; for your ancestor was so and so.' When the Jews confessed that he had spoken the truth, his lordship continued: 'Have you put any poison into this kid?' Zaynab replied: 'Yes; I have done it.' His lordship asked: 'What was the reason for such a proceeding?' Zaynab replied: 'Thou hast killed my father, my uncle and my husband. I therefore said to myself: "If thy claim to prophecy be false, the people will be delivered of thee; and if it be true God the Most High and Glorious will inform thee of this matter, and no harm will befall thee."' Some allege that the apostle of God pardoned Zaynab, but others state that he killed her and afterwards ordered her to be crucified. The author of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* also relates that Bashar was sick one year and then died, as well as that there are two traditions concerning Zaynab, according to one of which the prophet forgave, and according to the other he slew her, ordering her afterwards to be crucified. Some U'lamâ give credit to the narrative that she was forgiven, and others that she was killed. Others, again, endeavour to reconcile the two traditions by asserting that the prophet did not kill her for his own sake, as his lordship's custom was never to avenge his personal wrongs on anyone, but that as Bashar B. Abarâ died by her act, he had her slain; and this is also the opinion of the author of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*.

It is related that fifteen Musalmâns perished in the siege of Khayber, and that ninety-three Jews departed to hell.

The prophet spared the lives of all the other Jews, but ordered them to emigrate. The inhabitants of Khayber represented, however, with tears and lamentations, that the professors of Islâm would stand in need of men for the cultivation of their gardens and fields. They then offered to work as hirelings in the just-mentioned pursuits without meddling at all with the government. His holy and prophetic lordship accordingly took pity on them, and ordered them to cultivate the fields and vineyards of that region on condition of paying one-half of the proceeds thereof into the public treasury, and retaining the other half for their wages.

Chroniclers of biographies and of traditions relate that at the time of the victory of Khayber, Hajjâj B. Khulâss Solmy, who was noted for his large property and great wealth, arrived from his tribe for commercial purposes, and had the honour of waiting upon his lordship the apostle; and the padlock of carelessness, fixed on the aperture of the casket of his heart having been opened with the key of [Divine] guidance, he made his profession of the Faith. Having been received among the adherents of the prophet, he spoke as follows: 'I have a great deal of property among the Mekkans, and with my wife Shaybah. If they become aware of my having professed Islâm, I shall not be able to get one farthing from them. I therefore crave permission quickly to depart to that country, and to be allowed to say what I like, so as to be enabled to collect my outstandings by hook and by crook.' The prophet granted his request, and exclaimed: 'Say whatever thou listest.' Hajjâj says: 'When I departed from Khayber, and, after traversing the distance, arrived in Radzyah Baydzâ, I encountered a number of the Qoraish, who made inquiries concerning the affairs of the apostle of God, and when they perceived me they exclaimed: "Lo, Hajjâj has come!" Turning to me, they asked: "We have heard that yonder brigand went to Khayber. Hast thou any news about him?" I replied: "I possess tidings full of joy and gladness for you." They continued: "What are they?" I

said: "Muhammad and his companions have suffered a grievous defeat, so that some of his friends were killed and some captured. Muhammad himself is a prisoner, and the inhabitants of Khayber have said, 'We must not kill him here, but must convey him to Mekkah, so that we and the Qoraish may there retaliate upon him for our slain comrades.' I have therefore quickly come to the sanctuary to bring you this piece of information, to collect my property, and again to depart to Khayber, in order to forestall the merchants of this place, who will also go there to purchase the nice clothes and goods of the companions of Muhammad which have fallen into the possession of the inhabitants of Khayber. I shall make purchases and rejoice at the profits I will get."' Hajjāj continues: 'When those men had heard what I said, they went to Mekkah, shouting: "O family of Ghāleb, Muhammad has been humbled and captured. He is to be brought to Mekkah to suffer death, that we may be consoled."' It is related that after this rumour had spread, Hajjāj requested the idolaters to aid him in the collection of his outstandings among the people. The Qoraish were so glad that they complied with his request, and he recovered all that was due to him and had been scattered among the people, as well as the property that was with his wife. It is related that when the Musalmans of Mekkah heard this news they crouched down on the sackcloth of mourning, becoming depressed, sad, and miserable. In fact, they were amazed and confounded, and A'bbās B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb was totally unable to move; but for fear the enemies might become aware of his distress, he ordered the door of his mansion to be left open, and induced Fatham, who was noted for his beautiful voice, to declaim Rajaz poetry aloud, so that any Musalmāns happening to pass by, and hearing this voice, made haste to wait on A'bbās and to assemble around him. When they had seen him quite joyous and pleased, their minds were comforted. At the same time A'bbās despatched one of his slaves to Hajjāj with the following question: 'What dreadful news is being bandied about as brought by thee? No

doubt the promise of the Most High and Glorious is more valid than thy assertions.' Hajjâj said to the slave: 'Convey my salutations to A'bbâs, and tell him that affairs are progressing in conformity with the wishes of his friends. Tell him also that I shall pay him a visit at noon, and bring him news that will rejoice him; but it will be necessary to clear his house of friends as well of strangers, because the secret I have to communicate to him is not to be overheard by anyone.' As a reward for this good news, A'bbâs manumitted the slave and made a vow to manumit ten more, for the purpose of seeking thereby to approach the Lord of Glory. Hajjâj went, according to his promise, to the house of A'bbâs, and having informed him of his own profession of Islâm, as well as about the Jews at Khayber, continued: 'I have spread that dismal news by the permission of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—that I may recover my property.' It is related that first of all Hajjaj caused A'bbâs to swear an oath to keep the news secret till three days had elapsed after his departure, and not to reveal it to anyone. Then Hajjaj took leave, and started that very night to Madinah. When three days had expired, A'bbâs donned a fine robe, perfumed himself, and halted at the gate of the dwelling of Hajjâj, whose wife he informed of the real state of affairs. Then he betook himself to the mosque of the sanctuary, and joyfully walked round it. When the idolaters perceived A'bbâs in this state they conversed with each other, and were astonished at his alertness. The Qoraish said to him: 'O Abu-l-fadzl,[332] by this promptitude thou desirest to conceal the fire of grief for Muhammad's defeat which is burning thy heart.' A'bbâs replied: 'Such is not the case. I swear by God that Muhammad has conquered Khayber, hâs totally vanquished the clan of Abu-l-haqyq, has plundered the goods of the Jews, and has taken their women and children into captivity. Hajjâj has deceived you for the purpose of collecting his property.' The Qoraish asked: 'Where hast thou heard these words?' He replied: 'From the same

[332] Father, *i.e.*, possessor of excellence.

informant who has rejoiced you with his news?' These words distressed the infidels, but gladdened the professors of Islâm, and five days after the departure of Hajjâj the victory of Khayber had become generally known. The Qoraish were dismayed and sorry that Hajjâj had departed unscathed, and inconceivable terror overwhelmed the enemies on account of the victory of Khayber.

The Peace of Fadak.

When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—arrived near Khayber he despatched Makhyssah B. Masu'd to Fadak, which was one of the outermost forts of Khayber, to invite its garrison to surrender, and if they refused to do so to threaten them [with annihilation]. Makhyssah executed the order, and the people replied: 'A'mer, Yâser, Hâreth, and Sind, the Jews, are stationed in Natzârah with ten thousand combatants, and we think Muhammad will not be able to cope with them.' When Makhyssah perceived that the people of Fadak were not inclined for peace, he desired to return after a stay of two days. The Jews, however, said: 'Remain till we consult our chiefs and send a number of them with thee to Muhammad, that the carpet of pacification may be spread out, and the foundations of tranquillity may be laid.' Meanwhile, however, those people heard how the garrison of Naa'm had been slain, and they were so frightened thereby that they said to Makhyssah: 'Keep secret whatever we have told thee about the inhabitants of Khayber and Muhammad, and we shall give thee all the trinkets of our women.' After he had complied with their request they sent one of their chiefs, called Nûn B. Yusha', with a number of Jews, to his prophetic lordship to negotiate for peace, which was, according to some, concluded on the understanding that their lives would be spared, but their property confiscated. The majority of biographers have, however, recorded in their writings that peace was granted them after a long parley on condition of surrendering one half of their lands to the apostle of God and keeping the other for themselves.

This is the reason why O'mar B. Alkhattâb ordered them to emigrate when he became Khalifah, and sent arbitrators to Fadak to estimate the value of one half of the lands belonging to the inhabitants thereof, and afterwards paid five thousand dirhems for them from the public treasury. In the *Mostaqadza* it is, however, recorded that according to some traditions the lord of prophecy—u. w. b.—despatched A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—to Fadak, and the latter concluded peace on condition that the lives of the inhabitants were spared, but that all their property was confiscated for the apostle of God. After that Jebrâil descended, and said: 'God the Most High orders thee to give thy relatives their due.' The apostle of God asked: 'Who are my relatives, and what is their due?' Jebrâil continued: 'Fattimah [and her offspring are thy relatives]. Give her the possessions of Fadak; and whatever in Fadak belongs to God and the prophet give that also to her.' Accordingly the prophet—u. w. b.—called Fattimah—u. w. b.—and wrote for her a deed to that effect. After the decease of the apostle of God she went to Abu Bakr, and said: 'This is the document of the apostle of God, which was written for me [and my sons], Hasan and Hosayn.

Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb arrives from Abyssinia. The Marriage with Ssofyah is consummated. The Sun returns for A'li Murtadza—u. w. b. The Ghazâ of Wâdy-l-qara.

After the forts of Khayber had been conquered, Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb—A. r. h.—returned with some companions who had emigrated from Mekkah to Abyssinia, and the prophet said: 'I do not know what rejoices me more, the advent of Ja'fer or the conquest of Khayber.' When his holy and prophetic lordship returned from Khayber he marched to Wâdy-l-qara, and, arriving in the station of Ssahbâ, he consummated his marriage with Ssofyah, whom he asked: "Why wouldst thou not agree to consummate

our wedding before we reached this halting-place?' Ssofyah replied: 'The Jews were near, and I feared they might injure thee.' This answer so pleased the august nature of his lordship that he loved her the better for it. In the station of Ssahbâ the Most High and Glorious Lord —whose name be exalted—turned the sun back to enable A'li to hold his afternoon prayers. This took place as follows: One day his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. —had placed his blessed head in the lap of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, while the signs of Divine revelation manifested themselves on that prince; the descent, however, of the revelation lingered till the sun had disappeared in the west. After the Divine inspiration had irradiated him the apostle of God asked A'li whether he had performed his afternoon prayers, but received a negative answer. Therefore he prayed, and said: 'O God, A'li was obeying Thee and Thy apostle; cause therefore the sun to return for his sake, to enable him to hold his postmeridian devotions.' It is related of Asma, the daughter of O'mys, that she said: 'After the sun had set I saw it rising [again], shining on the plains and mountains, so that the people were eye-witnesses of the brightness of the sunshine, whereon A'li held his prayers, and this was one of the signs of prophecy.' When the Jews of the Wady-l-qara obtained information of the approach of the apostle of God they made, with the aid of some idolaters, the necessary preparations for war, marched out of their stations, and drew themselves up in battle array. His lordship also ordered his lines to be formed, handed his flag to one of the principal companions, and invited the opponents to accept Islâm, saying: 'Make profession of the Faith! Your lives and property will remain safe, and your account will be with God the Most High and Glorious.' They, however, refused to comply, and began the attack as follows: A man stepped out of their ranks and shouted for a champion; but Zobeyr defaced his countenance with a sharp sword. After that another man was also bold enough to step into the lists of contention, but Zobeyr

despatched him to hell in the same manner. Then another hero presented himself, whom A'li met and slew, whilst Abu Dujânah killed two other men, so that ten or eleven of the enemy lost their lives on that day. When the night set in both armies remained stationary in their places till the morning. When the nocturnal hosts [*i.e.*, stars] had been put to flight by the monarch of the day [*i.e.*, the sun], the champions of both parties unsheathed their swords and assailed each other. The sun had attained nearly one spear's height, when the opponents became much afraid and commenced to flee, whereon a great deal of plunder fell into the hands of the professors of Islam, and this was one victory more added to the others. When the Jews heard of the fame of the victorious army they became so frightened that they sued for peace, and agreed to pay tribute.

O'MRATU-L-QADZÂ [PILGRIMAGE BY DIVINE PREDESTINATION].

When his holy and prophetic lordship had by the decree of Divine providence victoriously returned from Khayber and from Wâdy-l-qara to Madinah, he sent out forays to the tribes dwelling around Mekkah and Madinah. After that he ordered his friends to prepare themselves for a march to the pilgrimage of Divine predestination, enjoining all the companions who had been present at the peace of Hodaybiah to take part also in this expedition, and not to absent themselves under any pretext whatever. Accordingly, all who were alive complied, and joined the heaven-aspiring retinue: and besides the covenanters of the oath of Radzuwân,[353] three hundred men in addition girded up their loins for the above expedition. In short, his lordship appointed Abu Dhar Ghuffâry to be his lieutenant in Madinah, and marched with ten thousand men and one hundred horses of noble breed, with many weapons, such as helmets, cuirasses, swords, and sixty or seventy camels,[354] in the month of Dhu-l-qa'dah, in the seventh

[353] Also called "Pledge of the Tree." See footnote 333.
[354] To be slaughtered in Mekkah as sacrifices.

year after his blessed Flight, with the intention of performing the visitation gladly and joyfully in Mekkah. It is related that the apostle gave the noble steeds in charge of Muhammad B. Moslamah, and the arms to Bashyr B. Sa'd, attaching a number of men to these two blessed individuals and causing them to march in advance. Some said: 'O apostle of God, one of the conditions of peace was not to bring any arms to Mekkah, except swords in their scabbards.' He replied: 'We shall not carry these [weapons] to the sanctuary, but we take them as a precaution, in case the people should act contrary to the treaty, and break it.' When Bashyr B. Sa'd and Muhammad B. Moslamah arrived at Marâ Al-tzuhrân, the Qoraish who were there saw them and knew that his lordship would arrive after them. They accordingly ran to Mekkah on the wings of speed, and informed the Qoraish of what was taking place. They went to the tops of mountains and sent Mukraz B. Hafass to ask his lordship on the road what was his intention in bringing arms. He, however, received the reply already mentioned above. Mukraz then returned, and conveyed the news to the idolaters to pacify their minds. The apostle of God thereon ordered the camels destined for sacrifice to be stationed at Dhu Towa, and established his arsenal in another place called Battin Mâhaj, and after having appointed a detachment to guard it, he mounted his she-camel Qasswy, and the professors of Islâm marched in the wake of his lordship the best of men, some walking and some riding with their swords girded; and they entered Mekkah by way of Menah, uttering the customary *Talabyah*.[355] His lordship, mounted as he was, entered the mosque of the sanctuary, A'bdullah B. Ruâhah holding the bridle of the she-camel Qasswy. Then his lordship uttered the *Talabyah* with his blessed tongue, and touched the black stone with the hooked stick he had in his hand; then, mounted as he was, he circumambulated the Ka'bah, the companions likewise touching

[355] This consists in shouting, *Labyk!* [I obey! I await thy commands].

the stone with their sticks by order of his lordship, and walking around the Ka'bah. He ordered them to progress swiftly during the three first, and, according to the usual custom, during the four last circumambulations. The reason for celerity during the first three turns was because the idolaters of Mekkah had said: 'People have arrived with Muhammad whom the fever of Yathrab and the insalubrity of Madinah have rendered lazy, weak, powerless, and lean.' When, however, the Qoraish had perceived from the mountain that the professors of Islâm were agile, swift, strong, and healthy, they said to each other: 'The fellows whom we imagined to be disabled by the fever of the country of Yathrab are wonderfully healthy and strong.'

It is related that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had terminated the sacred ceremonies, he appointed Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb to sue for the hand of Maymûnah, the daughter of Hâreth Hallalyah, who was the sister of the wife of A'bbâs. Maymûnah having subordinated her own will to that of A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, he gave her in marriage to his lordship. Sa'd B. Masyb relates that when the apostle of God had performed the ceremonies of the visitation [of the sacred spots] he entered the house of the Ka'bah and ordered Ballâl to mount on the roof, and to proclaim the time of the forenoon prayers. A'kramah B. Abu Jahl, having heard the voice of Ballâl, said: 'Verily Allah has blessed [my father] Abu-l-hukm[336] by sparing him from hearing the voice of this slave, and what he is saying;' and every one of the idolaters had something opprobrious to say. Some allege that his lordship had sent a man to the Qoraish to ask permission for entering the house of the Ka'bah; but that they refused, on the pretext of its not having been mentioned in the treaty of peace. Thereon the apostle of God ordered Ballal to go on the roof of the Ka'bah, and to invite the people

[336] Meaning 'the possessor of wisdom,' which was his honourable epithet, whilst his enemies applied to him the insulting one of *Abu Jahl*, 'father, *i.e.*, possessor of stupidity.'

to prayers; but during the three days of the sojourn of the professors of Islâm in Mekkah, Ballâl had been only once ordered to do so. After the three stipulated days had elapsed, Sohayl B. A'mru and Hoyttab B. A'bdu-l-u'zza went on the fourth day to that prince, and said: 'The time appointed for thy stay has expired. Depàrt, therefore, from our country.' His lordship replied: 'How would it be if you were to allow me to celebrate my wedding with Maymúnah among you, and to give you a banquet?' They replied: 'We have need neither of thee nor of thy food, O Muhammad. We adjure thee by Allah and by our treaty to leave our country.' Sa'd B. A'badah, who was present, felt aggrieved by the incivility of Sohayl and Hoyttab, saying to the former: 'Thou hast lied. Mayest thou have no mother. For this country belongs neither to thee nor to thy father, and we shall not leave it, except by our own good pleasure.' The apostle of God smiled, quieted Sa'd, ordering at the same time notice of the departure to be given, and prohibiting any of the companions to remain that night in Mekkah. His lordship accordingly started towards Madinah, but left his freed slave, Abu Ráfi, in the sanctuary, to convey his spouse Maymúnah after him to Madinah.

It is related that Omm Ommârah, daughter of Hamzah, the prince of martyrs—u. w. b.—was with her mother, Omm Solmah, living in the noble city of Mekkah, her birthplace. The lord A'li—u. w. b.—spoke to his lordship the apostle as follows with reference to her: 'Why should we depart and leave the daughter of our uncle Hamzah among the idolaters? We ought to place her in the howdah of Fattimah and take her to Madinah.' This was done; but when they arrived in Madinah a dispute arose between A'li—u. w. b.—and Ja'fer and Zayd B. Hârethah because each of them desired to be her protector. Zayd B. Hârethah, who was the executor of Hamzah, said: 'She is my cousin,' because when the Mohâjer entered into a league brotherhood was established between Hamzah and Zayd. Then Ja'fer said: 'Omm Ommârah is my uncle's

daughter, and her aunt is in my house.' A'li said: 'She is the daughter of my uncle, and Fattimah, the darling of his lordship, is in my house; and she is the most worthy to take care of Omm Ommárah, especially as I am the cause of her having been brought from Mekkah.' The just-named three blessed individuals came to high words, and quarrelled so loudly that they awakened his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—from sleep, and he spoke as follows after he had been apprised of the subject of their contention: 'I shall judge between you;' and considering the position of each of them, he first said to A'li: 'Thou art mine, and I am thine.' To Ja'fer he said: 'Thou resemblest my nation and my nature.' To Zayd he said: 'Thou art our brother and our freed man.' Then he spoke to Ja'fer as follows: 'Thou art the fittest to keep Omm Ommárah, because her aunt is in thy house, and an aunt is in the place of a mother.' He added: 'Marry not a woman whose paternal or maternal aunt is already thy wife.' At these words Ja'fer rejoiced so much that he began hopping on one leg round the apostle of God, who asked him for the reason of such a proceeding; whereon Ja'fer replied: 'O apostle of God, a person whom thou hast made glad is cutting these antics!'

In this year [*i.e.*, the seventh of the Flight] his lordship the refuge of termination sent a letter to Khaylah B. Abham, who was the last of the Ghusán kings in Syria, inviting him to profess Islám, and he complied as soon as he had become acquainted with the [contents of the] exalted epistle. He also wrote a reply and sent gifts to his lordship, and was still a professor during the Khalifate of Farúq the greater [*i.e.*, Omar]. In those days he once came to circumambulate the Ka'bah, but for a reason which will also be recorded in this volume he fled from Madinah, apostatized and joined the Byzantine emperor. During this year Qowdah B. A'mru Judhámy, who was the first-named emperor's governor at O'mmân, in the Bulgarian country, also became a Musalmán, and having written a letter to his lordship, he gave it to an attendant, Masu'd

B. Sa'yd by name, who also carried presents from him to Madinah. When this epistle reached the august assembly his lordship ordered it to be read, and the contents thereof were as follows: 'I have made the profession of the Faith and confessed the unity of God. I know thee to be the same true prophet whose advent was predicted by I'sa [Jesus], the son of Maryam. Farewell!' When the apostle of God received this information he showed much kindness and respect to Masu'd, ordered Ballâl to take him to his own house and to preprre a repast for him. The presents of Qowdah consisted of a white mule, a tunic of brocade embroidered with gold, etc., which his lordship accepted, and sent him the following reply: 'Muhammad, the apostle of Allah, to Qowdah B. A'mru. But after [the usual compliments I say]: Thy envoy has arrived, has brought thy gifts, and has informed us of thy good health. Verily Allah has pointed out to thee the right way If thou followest it, obey God and His prophet, observe the appointed times of prayer, and pay the *Dzakât!*' [i.e., legal alms]. Then he ordered Ballal to give five hundred dirhems to the envoy and dismissed him. Let it not remain hidden that historians consider Qowdah to have become Governor of Syria after the demise of Hâreth B. Abu Shammár Ghusány, and that the latter died in the eighth year after the Flight. According to this statement it would appear that Qowdah had become a Musalmân in the eighth year or after it. As, however, biographers [considered more reliable] have stated that Qowdah professed Islám before the eighth year, the author of this work has followed them, although this discrepancy cannot be reconciled. Allah, however, is most wise.

In this year his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—appointed A'bdullah B. Ruâhah over a detachment of troops and sent him to Aa'm. In that expedition also Abu Qotadah and Muhkum B. Kutâmah were present. During the march they met A'amer Allassant Allashja'y, who had made his profession of the Faith, and was going to wait upon his lordship the apostle of God. When he

met the companions he saluted them like a professor of Islâm, but they gave no reply, and Muhkum slew him. When this news reached his lordship the best of men, and Muhkum was admitted to the honour of kissing his feet, his lordship reproached him, saying: 'Why hast thou killed a Musalmân?' Muhkum replied: 'Because A'amer had feigned to be a Musalmân to escape death.' His lordship continued: 'Hast thou slit open his heart and ascertained his intention and will? The tongue is the interpreter and ambassador of the heart.' The apostle of God then cursed Muhkum, who surrendered his life to the grasper of souls after the expiration of one hour. After he had been interred he was thrown out of his grave, which having happened thrice, the people at last concealed his body under stones, whereon his lordship said: 'The earth covers worse men than Muhkum, but God the Most High wanted to show you the esteem in which he holds martyrs [such as A'amer].'

The Events of the Eighth Year after the Flight of the Lord of Prophecy—u. w. b.[257]

According to all the biographers, Khâled B. Alwolyd and A'mru B. Ala'ass and Ttolhah B. Ttolhah Ala'bdary were during this year adorned with the decoration of the Faith. Khâled says that at the time when the apostle of God had proceeded to Mekkah with the intention of performing the visitation, and had arrived in Ghusân, the Qoraish issued from the sanctuary for the purpose of repelling him, and had also arrived in that locality. 'One day I saw the apostle of God holding the prayers of fear with his companions, and although I desired to injure them [*i.e.*, the Musalmâns] on that occasion, and was unable to do so, I knew that the Almighty was the protector and defender of the apostle and of his friends, that he would soon vanquish his opponents, and would be granted the victory.'

It is related in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* that there is a tradition of Khâled B. Wolyd wherein he is said to have

[257] Began May 1, 629 A.D.

spoken as follows: 'When the eternal decree, predestined by Allah that I should become a Musalmân, was to be fulfilled, He inspired me with love for the professors of Islâm, but especially on the day when the prophet was holding the prayer of fear on his march to Hodaybiah in the station of Ghuttiân. I desired to get him into my power, and, being unable to succeed, I knew that he was protected by Divine grace, and that he would soon overpower us. When peace had been concluded between us and him, I apprehended that power and dignity had departed from the Qoraish, but I could not go to the Najjâshy [Negus of Abyssinia] because he had become a follower of Muhammad; accordingly I conceived the intention to betake myself to Heraclius and to make a profession of the Christian or the Jewish religion.' The writer of these pages says that as Khâled B. Wolyd knew that whoever uttered the formula of monotheism gained the favour of Allah and the apostle, and that the line of forgiveness and oblivion would be drawn over the record of his transgressions, he ought, after love for the professors of Islâm had prevailed in his heart, immediately to have waited upon the apostle of God and uttered the profession of the Faith, without intending to go to Heraclius, or vacillating between the adoption of the Christian or the Jewish religion; and therefore the tradition is more credible wherein no allusion occurs to the love he bore towards the professors of Islâm during the time of ignorance. The [true] knowledge, however, is with Allah.

In short, Khâled says: 'When I thought of going to Heraclius, I again considered whether I ought not to remain in our own country, to see what would come forth from the curtain of futurity. On that occasion the apostle of God was marching to Mekkah to hold the predestined visitation (*O'mratu-l-qadzâ*). I absented myself, but my brother Wolyd B. Alwolyd, who had arrived in Mekkah with his lordship the apostle of God, was searching for me; as, however, he was unable to find me, he sent me a letter with the information that his holy and prophetic lordship

had remembered me, and had said: "Khâled is an excellent, noble, and glorious individual. One like him cannot have remained ignorant of my mission; had he but visited me, I would have shown him much civility, would have raised his position in life, and would have held him in higher esteem than many other men." He also wrote: "Dear Brother,—I am astonished that thou becomest not a Musalmân, and still travellest in the desert of aberration, without atoning for bygones. Delay not to attain this felicity [of professing Islâm], but strive to gain it quickly, for thou hast already lost many advantages. Farewell."' Khâled says: 'When I had learnt the contents of this letter love for Islâm induced me to start to Madinah, and in conformity with the maxim, "First a companion and then the journey," I went to Ssafuwân B. Ommyah and spoke to him as follows: "O Abu Wohb, seest thou not that we have not a crumb of bread left, and that the rumour of Muhammad's success is permeating the whole world? If thou deemest it fit, we shall hasten to wait on Muhammad, because his honour is our honour." Ssafuwân, however, laid the hand of refusal upon my request, mentioned great difficulties, and said: "If no other person of the Qoraish is left except myself I shall not follow Muhammad." Then I said to myself: "I cannot expect this man to accompany me, because his father and brother have been killed on the day of Bedr." After that I met Akramah B. Abu Jahl, and invited him to walk on the straight road, but he likewise rejected my advice. Having despaired of the acquiescence of these two men, I saw O'thman B. Ttolhah and read to him the pages of exhortation. He accepted my invitation, and we departed together to Madinah. When we arrived in Hara we found there A'mru B. Ala'ass, who questioned us, and when we informed him of the object of our journey, he said: "I have also come from Abyssinia for the same purpose." Then we travelled with him, and entered Madinah in his company. When his lordship the apostle became aware of our arrival, he said to his companions: "The Mekkans

have thrown to you their very heart's blood."' Khâled continues: 'When we arrived in Madinah we exchanged our travelling clothes for handsome ones, intending to hasten and to meet the apostle of God. On the way my brother Wolyd came up to us, and said: "Come quickly; the apostle of God has heard of thy arrival and is much pleased therewith, waiting for thy appearance." I took my brother's advice and hastened our progress till I reached the august assembly of his lordship the apostle. When the blessed eye of that prince alighted on me he smiled.

Distich: A fairy killed men with sweet smiles;
I said to her: "Kill me too." But she smiled again.

Then I said: "Greeting to thee, O apostle of Allah!" He appeared somewhat surprised, and I continued: "I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah." He rejoined: "Glory and praise be to God, who has directed thee, O Khâled. I perceived thou art intelligent and wise, and entertained hopes that God would lead thee to the good road." I answered: "O apostle of God, thou hast seen how much I resisted the truth in the infidel regions. Intercede for me with God the Most High, that He may forgive my past transgressions." He continued: "O Khâled, the profession of Islâm blots out all former sins." I said: "Nevertheless, be thou my intercessor." Then he said: "O God, pardon the sins formerly committed by Khâled B. Wolyd." After that also A'mru B. Ala'ass and Ttolhah B. O'thmân B. Abu Ttolhah Abdary made their profession of the faith.'

Ghazwah of Dhât-assilâsil.

There is a tradition of Wâqidi that A'mru B. Ala'ass said: 'When I became ennobled by professing the Faith I said: "O apostle of God, I have for some time tried to demolish the castle of Islâm; but now I should like to leave some traces of my profession of the Faith."' That prince replied: 'I shall send thee to a locality, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' It is related that while A'mru was

waiting to be appointed to a command the information reached the exalted audition of the best of men that a number of the Bani Qadzaa'h had agreed to attack a certain region belonging to the professors of Islâm. The prophet accordingly despatched A'mru B. Ala'ass with three hundred men to extirpate the opponents, appointing him to command those troops, to march to Wâdy-l-qara, and to halt in a serai called Silâsil. When A'mru had departed from Madinah and marched against the idolaters, he heard that another detachment of the Bettâraqah had made common cause with the Bani Qadzaa'h, and being disquieted by this news, he sent a courier to his lordship with the information and a request for aid. The apostle of God thereon despatched a company, in which also Ssiddyq and Fârûq were enrolled, to reinforce A'mru, appointing Abu O'baydah to be the commander thereof, and at the time of parting his holy and prophetic lordship ordered the latter not to disagree with his companions in arms. When this second detachment joined A'mru B. Ala'ass, he said to O'baydah: 'As thou hast come to assist me, thou must hold prayers in my rear [I being the leader].' O'baydah, however, replied: 'Thou art the commander of the troops which arrived first, and I of those which arrived now.' A'mru objected also to this arrangement; but as O'baydah kept in mind the injunction of the apostle of God, he abstained from quarrelling, and held his prayers in the rear of A'mru.

After A'mru had thus been reinforced by Abu O'baydah, he began to plunder the country of the opponents, and captured much cattle, whereon the army returned satisfied to Madinah, and was admitted to the felicity of kissing the feet of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.

It is related that when A'mru waited on the prince of existences—to whom be the most excellent greetings—his lordship asked how the warriors of Islâm had obeyed and agreed with each other, whereon A'mru expressed his entire satisfaction with them. The prophet then likewise asked the troops how A'mru had behaved towards them

in that expedition, and they all remembered him with gratitude, but, nevertheless, conveyed to the exalted audition of his lordship the information that he had one morning held prayers in a state of pollution [which made them invalid]. When the apostle desired to know the particulars of this affair, A'mru replied: 'That day was very cold; I was in fear for my life, and therefore failed to perform the religious ablution; and the Lord God Almighty has said: "Do not commit suicide."' The apostle of God smiled at these words, and said: 'Look out how you may procure deliverance for yourselves [from sin].

It is related that A'mru, having been the commander of the troops in the above expedition, among whom were both Seiddyq and Fârûq, he imagined that his holy and prophetic lordship loved him more than those two blessed individuals. Hoping to obtain certainty on this point, he once asked: 'O apostle of God, what person lovest thou most?' He replied: 'A'ayshah.' A'mru continued: 'I ask about men.' He answered: 'My father' [Abu Bakr]. He further asked: 'Who comes after him?' He said: 'O'mar.' Thus A'mru continued to ask until the apostle of God had mentioned with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the names of all his friends, so that A'mru learnt that command, or authority over the army, implies an honour, but not a greater degree of the love of his lordship the prophet.

The Ghazâ of Mowtah.

The author of the *Mostaqadza* relates that, according to the 'Names of Places,' Mowtah with Hamza is the name of a village of Bolqâr in the country of Syria, and that without Hamza it means a state of lunacy or swoon. In the commentary of Ebn Hajar we read that most of the traditionalists spell Mowtah with Hamza, but that it is not hamzated by some. Wâqidi says: 'The reason for this campaign was that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had sent a letter to the Governor of Bossra in Syria], which was to be delivered to him by Hâreth B. O'mayr Azdy, but when the letter had reached Mowtah, he was met by

Shorahbyl B. A'mru Ghasány, who was one of the Amirs of the Qaysaar, and who asked him: "Where art thou travelling to?" He replied: "To Syria." Then Shorahbyl caused him to be slain, and this was the only one of the envoys of the best of prophets and apostles who was killed. When his lordship was informed of this event he became angry, informed the people of the murder of Hâreth, and ordered Musalmân troops to march to Syria and attack the enemy. Accordingly preparations for a campaign were made by order of his lordship, and an army of three thousand men assembled in a place called Jaraf. When all the arrangements of the troops of Islâm had been completed, his lordship held matutinal prayers and addressed them as follows: "I appoint Zayd B. Hârethah to be your commander; and if he be killed, Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb is to take his place. If Ja'fer falls, A'bdullah B. Ruâhah is to command you; and if he be likewise slain, the professors of Islâm are to elect one of their own number to be their general." On that occasion there was a Jew present, who said: "O father of Qâsim, if thy claim to prophecy be true, every man whom thou hast mentioned as a commander will be killed; because when the prophets of the children of Esrâyl sent an army against the enemy, and appointed even one hundred individuals in this manner, they were all slain." After that the Jew said also to Zayd: "O Zayd, I assure thee that, if Muhammad be a [true] prophet, thou wilt not return from this expedition." Zayd replied: "I bear witness that he is a prophet, veracious and beneficent." When the army of Islâm marched, his holy and prophetic lordship accompanied it as far as Thanyatu-l-wodaa', where he halted. The Musalmân troops being drawn up around him, his lordship said: "Fight in the name of Allah the Most High and Glorious, killing His and your foes who are in Syria. There you will find men who live in monasteries, separated from mankind. Do not injure them. Spare also the lives of all women and suckling babes. Do not fell date or other trees, and do not destroy houses."'

It is related that A'bdullah B. Ruâhah said: 'O apostle

of God, order me to do something.' He accordingly said: 'Thou art going to a town where there is but little adoration; therefore thou must pray much.' A'bdullah continued: 'O apostle of God, order me to do something more.' He then added: 'Think much of God, for He will aid thee in all thy petitions.'

Zayd B. Arqum says: 'I was living in the shadow of A'bdullah B. Ruâhah's protection and obeyed him, and I never saw a man taking better care of orphans than he did. When he went to Mowtah I accompanied him, and was mounted in his rear when we travelled. Whilst on this journey he recited one night verses which wafted the odour of martyrdom to my nostrils, so that I began to weep; but he calmed me, saying: "My son, what injury will it be to thee if God the Most High grants me martyrdom, and I am delivered of this world and of its vicissitudes?" After this conversation he alighted from the camel, prostrated himself, and prayed much, with several flexions. After he had terminated his devotions to the Supreme Judge and Granter of Requests, he said to me: "Son, it is probable that God the Most High and Glorious will respond to my prayers, and will allow me to taste the beverage of martyrdom, conferring that sweet pleasure upon me."'

It is related that when Shorahbyl, who was the assassin of Hâreth, had been informed of the approach of the army of Islâm, he made preparations for war and contention by assembling an army, the numbers whereof covered the mountains and the plains. The Musalmâns, on their part, marched till they arrived in Wâdy-l-qara, where they halted, and to which place Shorahbyl despatched his brother Sadûs with fifty men for the purpose of reconnoitring; but they were surprised by the Musalmâns, who killed Sadûs. When Shorahbyl was apprised of the death of his brother he became frightened, took refuge in a fort, and sent his other brother to the Qayssar, who was at Balqâ, to ask for reinforcements. The Qayssar accordingly sent a great multitude to aid Shorahbyl, who was also joined by the idolaters of the Arab tribes, so that the

numbers of the opponents surpassed one hundred thousand. When the Musalmâns heard this news they halted at the station of Moghân, consulted each other, and said: 'We must submit the state of affairs to the cognizance of the apostle of God, who will be able either to recall us or to send us reinforcements.' A'bdullah B. Ruâhah, however, encouraged the troops, and spoke to them as follows: 'O people, are you disliking an object for attaining which you have left your country, namely, martyrdom? Verily, we have never gained a victory by the multitude of our numbers. On the day of Bedr our army was very small, and we had not more than two horses; but Allah the Most High has not refused us the victory. Now we must all agree to fight unanimously, because there are only two issues, *i.e.*, victory or martyrdom. If the former is our share, no one will complain; and if the latter, we shall go to paradise and meet our friends who have been honoured with martyrdom.' The Musalmâns approved of the proposal of A'bdullah, marched towards the enemy, and reached the village of Mowtah.

Abu Haryrah[356] says: 'At Mowtah I beheld the army of Heraclius. The great number of our opponents and their [bright] accoutrements dazzled my eyes. Thâbet B. Aqdâm said to me: "Abu Haryrah, perchance thou art amazed at the great number of the enemy." I replied: "Yes." He continued: "Thou hast been present at Bedr, where God the Most High and Holy has vouchsafed us the victory not by the magnitude, but by the smallness, of our numbers."'

It is related that when the two armies approached each other, and the lines were drawn out—

Distich: The sea of contest boiled,
And the warriors roared.

Zayd B. Hârethah grasped the standard, placed the foot of bravery into the plain of contest, and fought till he attained martyrdom by a spear-wound. After him Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb took charge of the banner, capered forward

[356] This is the name of one of the companions, *i.e.*, 'father or possessor of the kitten,' because he always carried one about him.

on his horse, and attacked the foes, who overpowered him and sliced off his right hand, whereon Ja'fer held the flag with his left; but when that was likewise cut off he clenched the banner with [the stumps of] his arms, till a [Byzantine] Greek struck his waist with a sabre and divided him in twain. Then A'bdullah snatched up the banner, and fought till he [also] attained martyrdom. Thâbet B. Aqdâm the Ansâri thereon grasped the flag, and exclaimed: 'O Musalmâns, name a commander!' The professors of Islâm accordingly elected Khâled B. Alwolyd, and when he took the command after Thâbet had likewise fallen the Musalmâns began to flee, despite of all his entreaties [to the contrary]. When, however, one of the valiant professors of Islâm exclaimed 'It is better to be slain in battle than to run,' the Musalmâns were comforted, returned, and fought till night. The next morning Khâled arranged the lines, and changed the position of the army in such a manner that the enemies thought the Musalmâns had obtained reinforcements. Therefore they became afraid and fled. Khâled then pursued the fugitives, and displayed great feats of prowess. It is related that Khâled said: 'On that day my sword broke in my hand, but I had a Yemeni sabre left.' After Khâled had terminated his pursuit of the enemy he turned towards Madinah; but besieged during the march a fort, the inhabitants whereof had slain a Musalmân when the army was advancing to Mowtah. The fort having been conquered, a number of the wicked, who were dwelling in that locality, met their deaths at the hand of Khâled.

It is related that when the two armies, *i.e.*, the Musalmâns and the forces of Shorahbyl, were standing opposite to each other the curtain [of separation] disappeared, so that the battle-field became visible to his holy and prophetic lordship, who informed the companions concerning the state of those who were at Mowtah, saying: 'Zayd has taken the flag and was struck; then Ja'fer took it and was struck; then Ebn Ruâhah took it and was struck.' The prince of the righteous- u. w. b.—continued to speak thus,

whilst tears were flowing from his blessed eyes upon his blessed cheeks. He continued: 'After Ebn Ruâhah [had also fallen] a sword of the swords of God the Most High and Glorious snatched up the banner, and the victory was gained by His power.' By the sword of God he meant Khâled B. Wolyd, who was on that day surnamed 'the sword of God.' His lordship said with reference to Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb: 'He has entered paradise, and God the Most High has given to Ja'fer two wings of red rubies, instead of his two hands, so that he may fly wherever he likes, and for this reason he will be surnamed "the flying Ja'fer."' A'bdullah B. A'bbâs says: 'One day Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys and wife of Ja'fer, was sitting in the assembly of his lordship the refuge of the apostolate—u. w. b.—when the latter exclaimed: "O Asmâ, this is Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb, who has arrived with Jebrâil and Mykâyl, bringing salutations and the following news: 'When I fought the enemy I received seventy-two wounds. I held the banner in my right hand, but that was cut off; then I took it in my left, which was likewise cut off. God the Most High has, however, given me two wings in lieu of my hands, so that I may fly about in paradise with Jebrâil and Mykâyl wherever I like, and that I may eat those fruits of paradise which are most palatable to me.'" Asmá replied: "Let Ja'fer rejoice at whatever the Creator has bestowed upon him, but I fear that if I repeat the above words to the people they will accuse me of falsehood. If thou, O apostle of God, impartest to them the information, they will certainly believe and will acknowledge his excellency." Accordingly, when the companions had assembled around his lordship, he narrated a portion of the virtues of Ja'fer at the request of Asmá.'

It is on record that three or four days after the apostle of God had informed his companions about the events of Mowtah the news of the battle between the enemies and the Musalmâns arrived in Madinah, and when one of the combatants of Mowtah, Ya'ly B. Sanyah by name, entered the

august assembly of his lordship the prince of the world, the latter asked: 'Ya'ly, shall I give thee news, or wilt thou give us some?' Ya'ly replied: 'O apostle of God, give thou the news.' His holy and prophetic lordship thereon narrated the state of affairs, and Ya'ly exclaimed: 'I swear by that God who has sent thee in reality that thou hast omitted none of the events of the people.' His lordship continued: 'God, whose name be blessed and sanctified, had taken up the region and placed it before my eyes, to let me see the battle-field of my companions.' There is likewise a tradition of Asmâ, the relict of Ja'fer, that she said: 'On the day when the news of my husband's martyrdom arrived I was tanning a hide, and after that I washed the heads and faces of my children, Muhammad and A'bdullah, whom I afterwards suckled. A short time had elapsed when the apostle of God entered the house and asked for the children of Ja'fer, whom I then produced. He kissed and smelled them, then he took them into his arms and fondled them. I perceived, however, signs of grief on his blessed forehead, and asked: "O apostle of God, perhaps thou hast received news about Ja'fer?" He replied: "Yes; my cousin and brother Ja'fer has attained martyrdom, and my friends were slain with him."' Asmâ continues: 'I rose. My great distress and impatience caused me to break out in wailings, so that most of the women of Madinah assembled in my house, and the apostle of God exclaimed: "Asmâ, speak no nonsense, and strike not thy breast." He then departed, with his heart full of sorrow and his eyes full of tears, to the house of Fattimah Zohrah, whom he found also weeping and lamenting for the loss of Ja'fer.' Asmâ says: 'The heart-burning of the apostle of God increased when he saw the tears of his darling, but he said: "If you bemoan any person [after this], bemoan him as you do Ja'fer."

Distich: Luckless eye! where is thy gory stream?
If thou canst weep blood for Ja'fer, do so!

His lordship then continued: "Prepare food for the family of Ja'fer, because they are mourning for their relatives, and

have no time for cooking."' A'bdullah B. Abu Bakr says: 'On account of this hint of the prince of existences—to whom the most excellent greetings—regarding the family of Ja'fer, the custom of sending victuals to grief-stricken persons has survived till our times in Madinah.' The author of the *Mostaqadza* relates that, according to a statement in the *Ssahyh* of Bokhâry, whenever Ebn O'mar greeted the son of Ja'fer, he said to him: 'Salutation to thee, O son of him who has two wings!'

Wáqidi states that the apostle of God gave to the family and children of Ja'fer three days to mourn for him, and that afterwards he went to their house, saying: 'Weep no longer for my brother Ja'fer, and distress not his children any more.' It is related of A'bdullah, the son of Ja'fer, that he said: 'When we were brought to the apostle of God a stream of bitter tears flowed from our eyes, and all our limbs trembled. When he beheld our miserable condition the wounds of his heart again bled, and his sorrow increased. He ordered a barber to shave our heads, and said: "Muhammad, the son of Ja'fer, resembles my uncle Abu Ttâleb, but A'bdullah is the darling of the people and of the creation. He is like me in features and in manners." Then he took me by the hand, raised it, and said: "O Lord, give pious successors to Ja'fer, and vouchsafe them Thy blessing." Then our mother approached the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—representing our helpless and unprotected condition, so that he began to weep. He then asked: "Fearest thou that misfortune and poverty will overtake them whilst I am their protector in this world and in the next?"' A'bdullah says: 'One day the apostle of God saw me selling a sheep, and exclaimed, "O God, bless his transaction!" And after that I became very lucky in buying and selling.'

It has been noticed above that one of the conditions [of the Treaty] of Hodaybiah was that the Musalmâns should not injure any allies of the Qoraish, and the latter were to deal in the same way [towards the allies of the Musalmâns]. At that time the Khozaa'h, to whom the ancestors of

A'bd-ul-Muttalleb had belonged, presented their compact to his lordship, who, being aware of their connection with A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, admitted them at their own request into the league, so that every treaty concluded during the time of ignorance should be even more binding in the time of Islâm. At that time also the Bani Bakr entered into an alliance with the Qoraish, although before the promulgation of Islâm enmity had subsisted between these two clans —*i.e.*, the Bani Bakr and the Khozaa'h—and they had waged war against each other. After the mission they became so apprehensive of the success of the apostle of God that they ceased quarrelling with each other. When, however, in consequence of the Treaty of Hodaybiah, the idolaters were liberated from their apprehensions concerning the Musalmâns, they relapsed into their former enmity, which happened as follows: One day a man of the Bani Dhyl, who are a portion of the Bâni Bakr, spoke insulting words about the apostle—u. w. b.—which were heard by a slave of the Bani Khozaa'h, who reprimanded the above-named individual, but was grievously beaten by him. After that the man of the Bani Dhyl took refuge with the Bani Bakr and the Bani Nafâsah [the latter being a sub-division of the former], endeavouring to induce them to attack the Bani Khozaa'h. They assented, and also desired the Bani Madyh to aid them, who, however, refused to comply. The Bani Bakr then returned to the Qoraish, who broke their treaty with the lord of apostleship, and assisted the Bani Bakr with arms and other appliances of war. Some of the Qoraish nobles, such as Sohayl B. A'mru, and Hoyttab B. A'bdu-l-u'zza, and Akramah B. Abu Jahl, and Seafuwân B. Ommyah, and Mukraz B. Hafass, went even so far as to disguise their persons, tying veils over their faces, and joining in this manner their confederates, the Bani Bakr, with whom they surprised the Bani Khozaa'h in the night, the result being a dreadful contest, which was carried even into the territory of the sanctuary, and twenty men of the Khozaa'h were slain. In their distress the latter spoke as follows to Naofel B. Moa'wiah, who was the chief of the

Bani Bakr: 'O Naofal, fear God and respect His sanctuary!' Naofal replied: 'Your admonition is worthy of regard, but at present I have no occasion to fear God, because you have been accustomed to steal the goods of the pilgrims to the sanctuary, and now you have been punished for it.' When the Bani Khozaa'h became tired of struggling and fighting, they threw themselves into the mansion of Rafi'. Then Hodzayl B. Warqâ Khozaa'y and the Bani Bakr, as well as the Qoraish nobles, thinking that nobody had recognised them, went to their respective domiciles.

After the idolaters of Mekkah had committed this act of treachery, they repented of what they had done, and were sorry for having broken their covenant. Accordingly, Hâreth B. Heshâm and A'bdullah B. Abu Rabya'h went to Abu Sofyân B. Harb, and said: 'An event has taken place which cannot be concealed, and a calamity has occurred which we must remedy. For if we cannot arrange this affair, Muhammad will take up arms against us, and will shed our blood to avenge those of the Khozaa'h who have been slain.' Abu Sofyân replied: 'My wife Hirda has dreamt a dream which frightens me greatly.' They asked: 'What was it?' He continued: 'She dreamt that she had seen blood flowing from the direction of the *Hajhun*[350] towards Mekkah, until it reached the sanctuary, where it stagnated awhile and then disappeared.' This vision augmented also the fear of the hearers, and Abu Sofyân continued: 'I swear by God that the slaughter was committed neither by my advice nor approbation, but Muhammad and his companions will think that I have been the originator of that untoward affair and blameworthy event. I must therefore go to Madinah and renew the peace ere the information reaches Muhammad.' In short, the opponents were greatly dismayed, and Abu Sofyân made preparations for his journey.

It is related that on the morning which preceded the

[350] This was a small water-course, but liable to be flooded, and to cause great damage in that condition to houses, and even to the Ka'bah.

night of the defeat of the Bani Bakr, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—addressed to Sseiddyqah [*i.e.*, A'ayshah] the following words: 'Verily, a misfortune has befallen the Khozaa'h.' A'ayshah replied: 'O apostle of God, thinkest thou that the Qoraish will dare to break the peace after they have been subdued by the sword?' He replied: 'They break the treaty to fulfil the purpose of God.' She asked: 'What purpose is it, O prince of existences?' He answered: 'It will be a good one.' It is related that Maymûnah—u. w. b.—said: 'When the apostle came out from the water-closet, he exclaimed: "Aid, aid!" I asked: "O apostle of God, with whom art thou conversing?" He replied: "The speaker of these Rajaz verses is one of the Bani Ka'b, of the tribe Khozaa'h, who asks aid from me, and says: 'The Qoraish have assisted the Bani Bakr in their night-attack upon us.'"' It is related that when three days had elapsed after this event, A'mru B. Sâlem Khozaa'y arrived in Madinah with forty men of his friends, and when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was sitting in the mosque with his companions, he was admitted to the felicity of kissing his feet, and standing opposite to that prince, he recited an elegy relating the destruction of the peace by the Qoraish, the transgression of the Bani Bakr, and the weakness of the Khozaa'h. After this elegy had been completed, the apostle of God said: 'I thank thee, A'mru.' Then he rose, dragging his blessed *Redá* [wrapper] after himself on the ground, and said: 'May I not receive help, if I do not give help to the Bani Ka'b in the same way as I would help [to save] my own life!' At the same time he also dismissed the Khozaa'h men, ordering them to disperse in the Wâdys. In some biographical works it is also narrated that when the Khozaa'hs had informed his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—that Anus B. Wohum had derided him, and that they were angry for it, his lordship exclaimed: 'Let his blood be shed.' When Anus heard this news he came to Madinah with Naofel B. Moa'wiah, and recited in the august assembly of his lordship the

Musattafa an elegy of homage and excuse, after which Naofel said: 'O apostle of God, thou pardonest the transgressions of all who have sinned against thee. Indeed, there is not a man of us who had not borne enmity to thee while we were in ignorance, but through thee we have obtained [Divine] guidance. O apostle of God, the people are accusing Anus falsely.' The apostle of God, however, retorted: 'Do not inculpate the people falsely. Because in Tahâmah, far and wide, I have not met with more veracious men.' Naofel then became silent, and his lordship continued: 'I pardon Anus.' Naofel said: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee.' The author of these pages remarks that there are objections against [the correctness of] this tradition, but as the present work is merely a compendium, he refrains from recording them in this place.

Chroniclers narrate that before Abu Sofyân had arrived in Madinah his lordship said: 'I fancy Abu Sofyân is coming to advise me to renew our treaty, and to prolong the stipulated time of the peace; but he shall return disappointed and sad.' When Abu Sofyân arrived in Madinah, after duly performing the journey, he went, according to one tradition, first to his daughter Omm Jamilah—who had been enrolled in the ranks of the mothers of the Musalmâns[360]—and was about to sit down on the bed of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—but Omm Jamilah folded up the bed, whereon Abu Sofyan asked: 'Daughter, considerest thou me unworthy of the bed, or the bed of me?' She replied: 'This is the bed of the prince of the clean and the pure, but as thou art allied to idolatry and defilement, I have not considered thee worthy to sit on the bed.' Abu Sofyan continued: 'Evil has befallen thee since we separated, because thy good manners are changed, and thy noble qualities altered.' She, however, rejoined: 'I thank Allah that He has blessed me with Islam, and has bestowed upon me the favour of

[360] *I.e.*, one whom the prophet had married: all of his wives enjoyed this title of honour.

[Divine] guidance. I am amazed that thou who art the leader of the Qoraish and the prince of thy nation, a man enjoying glory, possessing the government, endowed with intelligence and penetration, hast not become a Musalmân, but worshippest a stone, which can neither see nor hear, and from which neither evil can be feared nor good can be expected.' Abu Sofyân rejoined: 'In addition to thy impudence, thou askest me to apostatize from the religion of my ancestors and forefathers, to abandon their gods, to adopt the religion of Muhammad, and to follow him. After uttering these words he left the house of his daughter, and met his lordship; but though he insisted much on the renewal of the treaty and the prolongation of the truce, he received no satisfactory reply. Then he went to Abu Bakr with the same proposal, but he replied: 'I have no authority.' Therefore he applied in a despondent and sad mood to O'mar, who gave him an angry reply. Then Abu Sofyân applied to the exalted threshold of the princess of the women of this world, namely, Fattimah Zohrah—u. w. b.—saying: 'I request thee to take us under thy protection.' She, however, replied: 'I am a woman, and my protection is of no account.' But Abu Sofyân continued: 'Thy sister Zaynab had given quarter to her husband Abu-l-a'ass, and Muhammad respected it.' Fattimah rejoined: 'I undertake no affair without the command of the apostle of God.' Abu Sofyân continued: 'Instruct [thy sons] Hasan and Hosayn to endeavour to attain my purpose.' Fattimah said: 'My children are small, and can do nothing without the permission of his lordship.' Then Abu Sofyân went to A'li, and said: 'O father of Hasan, thou art more closely related to me than others, and must intercede for me with Muhammad, that he may renew our treaty, and prolong the armistice.' But A'li replied: 'Woe betide thee, O Abu Sofyân, for trying to bring on a negotiation which his lordship the apostle dislikes.' Abu Sofyân said: 'I am distressed, and do not know how to act. Tell me what to do, for I am helpless.' A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—

replied: 'Thou art the prince of the nation, and canst do nothing better than to rise in the midst of the people and to exclaim: "I have induced the people on both sides to agree to the prolongation of the armistice."' Abu Sofyân asked: 'Shall I be successful if I act as thou sayest?' A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—replied: 'I do not know whether thou wilt attain thy purpose by this means, but I know of no other means.' Abu Sofyân accordingly rose in a solemn assembly, and exclaimed: 'O ye people, be ye aware, and let it be known unto you, that I have got men on both sides to agree to my proposal, and that I believe Muhammad will not reject my petition.' After that he went to the assembly of the lord of existences—u. w. b.—represented his case, and said: 'O Muhammad, I do not think thou wilt reject my petition.' But his lordship uttered nothing in reply, except the words: 'O Abu Sofyân, thou sayest so.' Then Abu Sofyân returned to Mekkah, but his absence having been prolonged, the Qoraish imagined that he had adopted the orthodox religion and abandoned idolatry. After duly traversing the distance, Abu Sofyân arrived in Mekkah, entering his house during the night. His wife Hinda said: 'Thou hast stayed so long that the people are suspicious of thy having become a follower of Muhammad. Nevertheless, all will be right if thy journey has been successful.' Abu Sofyân then narrated to Hinda what had happened to him, but she struck his breast with her foot, saying: 'An evil ambassador art thou! A'li has made sport of thee!' In the morning Abu Sofyân paid a visit to two idols, called Asâf and Nâylah, and after having offered a sacrifice and sprinkled the blood thereof on their heads, he said: 'As long as I am alive I shall not cease to worship you.' From this proceeding the Qoraish concluded that he had remained steadfast in unbelief and aberration. The idolaters thereupon asked him how he had succeeded, and what he had effected in his business. But after Abu Sofyân had narrated everything, they said: 'Thou hast done nothing and hast accomplished nothing. Thou hast neither brought news of war.

that we may prepare for it and be ready, nor of peace, that we may sit down comfortably in our houses. A'li, the son of Abu Ttâleb, has made fun of thee by instructing thee to afford protection, and to give quarter on both sides.'

After Abu Sofyân had departed from Madinah with the intention to go to Mekkah, his lordship the apostle began to make preparations for an expedition to Mekkah, and informed Saiddyq the greater of his purpose, with the injunction to reveal it to no one, and uttered with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the following words with reference to the Qoraish: 'O God, blind their eyes, so that they may not see us except suddenly!' Then he despatched couriers to the encampments and the Arab tribes around Madinah, inviting them and every man who believed in the Lord of Glory and in the day of the resurrection to make his appearance in Madinah on the first day of the month Ramadzan perfectly ready and armed. He also ordered the companions to make preparations for the campaign, to get ready the arms and appliances of war; he also ordered that no pilgrims should go to Mekkah, lest they might convey to the Qoraish the news of the approach of the professors of Islâm.

Meanwhile, however, Hattub B. Abu Ttoba'h wrote a letter to the Qoraish princes as follows: 'His holy and prophetic lordship is engaged in preparations for a campaign and collecting an army. Most likely the destination of his lordship is no other than Mekkah. I desired to oblige you, and have therefore indited this epistle. Farewell!' Hattub had given this letter to a woman, who concealed it in her hair, and departed to Mekkah. Jebrâil having informed his lordship of this matter, he called A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, Zobayr B. Ala'wwam, and O'mar Yâser, to whom he said: 'Go as far as Raudzat Khâkh, and there you will find a woman carrying a letter. Capture that woman and bring the letter.' When A'li the Commander of the Faithful and the other [two] companions arrived in Raudzat Khâkh, they [found and] asked the woman for the letter, but she denied having one. Being unable to find it, they

intended to return, but A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb, exclaimed: 'I swear by God that the apostle of Allah has not told me an untruth.' He then drew his sword and threatened to kill the woman, and she, being frightened, pulled out the letter from its place of concealment and handed it to A'li, who carried it to his lordship. The latter immediately summoned Hâttub, and asked: 'What has led thee to this step?' Hâttub replied: 'O apostle of God, I swear by Allah that I believe in Him and His prophet, and that in this matter I have not changed or altered my religion, nor become a hypocrite! I am one of the confederates, but not of the clansmen of the Qoraish; and have no one in the sanctuary to take care of my family and of my property, contrary to all the refugees [Mohâjer] who are enrolled among thy companions, every one of whom has relatives in that country to take care of his possessions. My object in writing this letter was to oblige the Qoraish, so that the sight of that epistle might induce them not to forget to mind my family and property.' His lordship the prophet said to the companions: 'Be ye aware and know that Hâttub has told you the truth!' O'mar B. Alkhattâb, however, turned to Hâttub, and said: 'May Allah slay thee! Hast thou written a letter to inform the Qoraish, despite thy being aware of the apostle's orders that the roads be watched, lest news of his approach might be divulged among the Qoraish?' Then Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar] said to the lord of termination: 'O apostle of God, allow me to strike off the head of this hypocrite!' But that prince appeased O'mar, saying: 'He was present at Bedr! And verily God has appeared to the combatants of Bedr, saying, "Do what you like, and you will certainly be forgiven!" According to another tradition, he added, "and paradise is due to you," and the blessed chapter, "O ye believers, do not consider my enemies and your enemies as your friends!"[331] till the end was revealed with reference to this matter.' In some biographical works we read that he ordered him to be expelled from the mosque, and that

[331] This is the beginning of ch. lx., entitled 'She who is tried.'

several persons placed their hands on his back to push him out ignominiously. On that occasion the culprit looked piteously back at the blessed face of his lordship, and the latter said to the people: 'Turn him back!' And to him: 'I have pardoned thy crime. Ask God the Most High and Glorious to forgive thy transgression, and commit no such act another time.' It is related that Hàttub was one of the great Mohàjer companions, a learned and intelligent man, but that the above act had been committed by him through inadvertence. His lordship had sent him to Maqoqush, the Governor of Alexandria, as has been already mentioned above.

There is a tradition of Hàttub that he said: 'When I arrived in Alexandria, Maqoqush invited me one evening along with his magnates, and the following conversation ensued between us:

'*M.*: Is thy master a prophet?

'*I*: Yes; he is an apostle of God.

'*M.*: Why did he not curse the Qoraish when they exiled him, that God the Most High should destroy them?

'*I*: Was I'sa, the son of Maryam, a prophet?

'*M.*: He was indeed an apostle.

'*I*: Then why did he not curse his people when they took hold of him and desired to crucify him?

'*M.*: Thou speakest the truth! Thou art a sage, and comest from a sage!'

Chroniclers relate that his lordship the apostle had determined to march to Mekkah, and had despatched Ayshâ B. Ruhdzah with Kalthûm B. Alyamyn for the purpose of enlisting troops, to the Bani Ghuffàr and Dhomayrah. He sent Moa'ql B. Sanàn and Na'ym B. Masu'd to invite the Shaja', and appointed A'bdullah B. O'mayr Mazany to call the tribe Mazynah. Hajjàj B. Ghullât Solmy he sent to the Bani Soyym and ordered A'ryàdz B. Sardar to go to the tribe Bani Ka'b, appointing Ebn Maktûm to be his own lieutenant in Madinah. Of the ladies, sitting in the apartments of piety and innocence, he selected Omm Solmah to enjoy the honour of accompanying him. According to a

certain tradition, he started from Madinah on the tenth of the month Ramadzan and made a halt near the well of Abu O'baydah, where the victorious army was reviewed, and having been numbered, it was found to consist of seven hundred Mohâjer, who possessed three hundred horses. There were three standards; one being held by the victorious lion of God, A'li Bin Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—the second by Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm, and the third by Sa'd B. Woqqâss. The number of Anssâr attached to the heaven-aspiring retinue amounted to four thousand, and they possessed five hundred horses. Of the Mazynah, one thousand men had arrived with one hundred cuirasses and one hundred horses. Of the people of Aslam four hundred men attained the felicity of combating for the religion, and of the Bani Ka'b five hundred men were counted. According to another tradition, however, his lordship distributed the victorious standards in the station of Qadyr among the Mohâjer and Anssâr; in which place also nearly one thousand lancers of the Bani Solym, most of whom were mounted on horses, joined the army of Islâm. Also a great number of combatants from other tribes, the mention whereof would only lengthen this narrative, enjoyed the happiness of accompanying the lord of apostleship.

A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, who had with his family, children and property, departed from Mekkah for the purpose of emigrating, was honoured by being allowed to kiss the blessed fingers of the apostle of God, who was delighted to meet him, told him to send his baggage back to Mekkah, but himself to remain, and said: 'This is thy last emigration in the same way as my prophetship is the last.' During the march, Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb and A'bdullah E. Ommyah Almoghyrah, the former of whom was the son of the apostle's uncle, and the latter of his aunt, waited on his lordship, who first reproached them—because while he was yet in Mekkah these two relatives had insulted him much—but as his august nature was disposed for mercy and liberality, he at last took them into the shadow of his protection and mercy.

It is related that Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth was not only a cousin, but also the milk-brother of his lordship, but when he received his mission, Abu Sofyân became unfriendly, manifested enmity, and derided the apostle of God as well as his noble companions. On a certain occasion the Musalmâns of Madinah asked Hasân B. Thâbet to deride Abu Sofyân likewise in return, but Hasân replied: 'I cannot do that without the permission of the apostle of God;' and when he requested the latter to grant him license to do so, he replied: 'How could I allow thee to insult my brother and cousin?' Despite this kindness, Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth made in all his battles common cause with Abu Sofyân B. Harb and the Qoraish; nor did he omit to do anything which might injure his lordship. Afterwards he went to Greece and obtained an audience of the Qayssar [*i.e.*, Byzantine emperor], who asked him: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am Abu Sofyân B. Hâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb.' The Qayssar continued: 'If thou speakest the truth thou art the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the uncle of Muhammad B. A'bdullah.' Then Abu Sofyân thought within himself: 'Though I have fled from Islâm, have made this great journey, and have arrived in Greece, where no one knows me, I am nevertheless not compared with anyone except with Muhammad.' The words of the Qayssar had, however, produced love for Islâm in the heart of Abu Sofyân. Therefore he returned from Greece, and met, with his family and children, the army of Islâm, in the station of Abuâbah, where he attempted several times to obtain an interview with the apostle of God, but the latter was estranged from him, and when the Musalmâns perceived this, they were likewise estranged from him. Some of them even insulted him, and Abu Sofyân, being greatly distressed, approached his lordship with humility and contrition, excited his pity, and was received into favour. Some allege that at the intercession of Omm Solmah his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—pardoned the crimes of Ebnu-l-hâreth and of A'bdullah Abu Ommyah.

Authentic reports have it that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—arrived and halted in Marâ Al-tzahrân, which is at a distance of four farsangs from Mekkah, his lordship ordered during that night as many fires to be kindled in the camp as there were combatants, so that according to the tradition recording the smallest number, at least ten thousand men were present in the heaven-aspiring retinue of the lord Muhammad—u. w. b.

The Qoraish knew nothing of the approach of his lordship, but they repented of what they had done, and feared his vengeance immensely. Meanwhile Abu Sofyân B. Harb, Hodhayl B. Warqâ and Hakym B. Huzâm had sallied out from Mekkah to reconnoitre. It is recorded in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* that when the army of Islâm halted in Marâ Al-tzahrân it consisted, according to one tradition, of ten, and according to another of twelve thousand men, every one of whom had that night been ordered by his lordship to kindle a fire. Up to that time the Qoraish knew nothing of the intention of the prophet, but they were under great apprehensions, because they suspected that his lordship would march against them. Therefore they said to Abu Sofyân: 'Go thou out to reconnoitre, and if thou encounterest Muhammad ask him for a truce.' But the writer of these pages says that this condition must not be insisted on [to have been made by all the Qoraish] because in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*, as well as in all the other biographical works, it is recorded that after Abu Sofyân had returned to Mekkah, and had brought the news of the truce, the princes of the Qoraish, such as Akramah B. Abu Jahl and Saafuwân B. Ommyah fought a great battle against the army of Islâm, as shall be narrated in these pages, if it pleaseth God the Most High. According to the injunction of the idolaters to Abu Sofyân to ask for a truce, and after his obtaining it by his skill in negotiation, it is not likely that a conflict with the army of Islâm would have taken place, nor do any of the biographical works, which have come under the notice of the author of these pages, mention this condition. Allah, however, is most wise.

The arrangers of the gems of information have strung the pearls of words on the thread of eloquence as follows: When A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb beheld the multitude of fires which had been kindled at Marâ Al-tzahrân, he exclaimed: 'Woe will betide the Qoraish if the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—enters Mekkah in wrath, not granting them quarter. Verily, if this takes place, the Qoraish will be extirpated, and no trace of them will remain.' After this apprehension had overwhelmed his luminous mind, he mounted the private mule of his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—and went to a place called Arakah, hoping to meet a wood-carrier or a milk-seller going to Mekkah, to send information concerning the state of affairs. While he was continuing his journey towards the honoured sanctuary in order to save the denizens thereof from the tempest of the sea of enmity, and to pilot them to the shore of pacification, by inducing them to sue for quarter, and thus to save themselves from the calamity of being slain by the professors of the Faith, Abu Sofyân and his companions, who had been despatched to reconnoitre, happened to arrive near Marâ Al-tzahrân, and to observe the fires of the professors of Islâm from an eminence. This spectacle confused them, and Abu Sofyân said to Hodhayl B. Warqâ: 'We have never seen such fires, nor heard of such an army.' Hodhayl replied: 'These are the Khozaa'h people, who have collected an army, and who have lit the fires of battle.' Abu Sofyân rejoined: 'I swear by Allah that the Bani Khozaa'h are less in number, and that this fire and army cannot be theirs.' Meanwhile A'bbas [came up], recognised the voice of Abu Sofyân in this conversation, and exclaimed: 'O father of Hanttalah.' The former, also knowing the voice of the latter, said: 'This is the father of Fadzl.' A'bbas replied: 'Yes.' Abu Sofyân continued: May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! What event is this?' A'bbas replied: 'Woe to thee! This is the apostle of God with ten thousand men, and woe to the Qoraish! But:

Distich : He deserves to fall into the hands of the foe
Who takes not the advice of the friend.'

Abu Sofyân replied : 'What is the use of reproaches? If thou canst aid us, do so. What is the remedy in this emergency?' A'bbâs continued : 'By Allah! if the apostle of God obtains the victory, he will order thy head to be struck off, despite the meekness, generosity, and forgiveness peculiar to him. The remedy is, that thou bestride this mule in my rear, to enable me to convey thee into the assembly of the lord of prophecy—u. w. b.—and to ask quarter for thee.' Abu Sofyân rode the mule as he had been told, whereon Hodhayl returned with Hakym to Mekkah. When A'bbâs passed through the camp, the men near each fire rose and said: 'Who can this man be that passes at this unseasonable time?' After, however, looking well at him, they said : 'This is the uncle of the prophet who is riding the mule of his lordship, and is passing by.' When A'bbâs reached the tent of O'mar B. Alkhattâb, the latter said nothing, although a big fire was near; but after A'bbâs had passed, his eye alighted on Abu Sofyân, whom he recognised. Accordingly he leapt up, shouting: 'O enemy of God, praise be to Allah for having allowed thee to fall into my hands, without their being tied by truce or quarter.' After uttering these words he drew his sabre, beginning to run, and intending to obtain permission from his lordship to slay Abu Sofyân before the arrival of A'bbâs. The latter, however, guessing the intention of O'mar, likewise arrived immediately after him, and O'mar spoke as follows : 'O apostle of God, behold, Abu Sofyân has fallen into our grasp without [obtaining] a safe-conduct or [making] the profession of the Faith. I crave permission to sever his head from his body.' A'bbâs, however, interposed, saying: 'O apostle of God, I have granted quarter to Abu Sofyân, and have taken him under my protection.' O'mar nevertheless advanced to whisper something into his lordship's ear; but A'bbâs forestalled him, and, embracing the blessed head of the apostle of God, said : 'This night we shall not tell him anything insulting.' And after O'mar

had made several efforts more to kill Abu Sofyân, A'bbâs said: 'O'mar, thou art so very anxious to slay him because he is one of the Bani A'bd Menâf. Had he been of the Bani A'dy, thou wouldst not have been so pressing.' O'mar rejoined: 'O A'bbâs, do not say that, because on the day thou hast become a Musalman thy profession of Islâm had made thee dearer to me than my own father Khattâb.' After the contention between O'mar and A'bbâs had become protracted to some length, his holy and prophetic lordship pacified them, saying: 'A'bbas, let Abu Sofyân remain this night with thee, and bring him to me in the morning.' Accordingly, when the world-illuminating sun had lit up the inhabited quarter of the globe, like the caskets of the hearts of believers, A'bbâs brought Abu Sofyân into the assembly of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—who exclaimed: 'Woe to thee, O Abu Sofyan! Has not the time arrived for thee to know that no image is worthy of adoration but God the Most High and Glorious?' Abu Sofyân said: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! How great must be thy gentleness, liberality, and good nature, that, despite the insults and persecutions I have heaped upon thee, thou nevertheless treatest me so kindly! I know that there is no other God but the Most High, because if there were one he might have helped us now.' His lordship continued: 'Has not the time arrived for thee to know that I am the prophet of God?' Abu Sofyan replied: 'Heretofore I had some doubt of it in my mind.' But A'bbâs interrupted him, saying: 'Woe to thee, Abu Sofyân! Make no long speeches, but pronounce the formula of monotheism, or else O'mar will immediately step in and despatch thee with his scimitar.' Then Abu Sofyân uttered, *nolens volens*, the words: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' According to the tradition of Wâqidi, Abu Sofyân was that night admitted to an audience, in which he remained standing, and his lordship said to him: 'Woe to thee, Abu Sofyân! Has the time not arrived for thee to bear witness that there is but

one God, and that I am His apostle?' Abu Sofyân replied: 'How kind thou art, O father of Qâsim; how meek and good-natured! As to the matter that there is but one God, I believe it; for had there been another besides Him he would have helped us on the day of Bedr and of Ohod. But as to thy being the apostle of Allah, I swear by Him that I have something in my mind.' Then A'bbâs exclaimed: 'By Allah! he is the apostle of God, and he will immediately order thee to be killed, except thou bearest witness that there is but one God, and that Muhammad is His prophet.' Then Abu Sofyân became a Musalman. Wâqidi also relates that during the said night A'bbâs took Abu Sofyân to his own dwelling, by order of his holy and prophetic lordship. In the morning, when Ballâl proclaimed the matutinal prayers and the shouts o the army of Islâm, who seconded him, were heard by Abu Sofyân, he was troubled, and asked A'bbâs what voices these were. He replied that they were a call to prayers. Abu Sofyân then asked: 'How many prayers do you hold during one day and night?' A'bbâs replied: 'Five.' Abu Sofyan exclaimed: 'I swear by Allah that this is much.' In some traditions we read that when the morning dawned, and Ballâl called the people to prayers, a commotion took place, and Abu Sofyân, thinking that they were in search of him, asked Abbâs: 'What is the matter?' A'bbâs replied: 'This is a movement for prayers.' When the professors of Islâm were at their orisons with the apostle of God, Abu Sofyân said: 'Whatever Muhammad does the people are likewise doing.' A'bbâs replied: 'Yes; and I imagine they will destroy thy people to morrow.' A'bbâs relates that when Abu Sofyân beheld the Musalmâns, on the occasion of the apostle's—u. w. b.—performing his religious ablution, holding out their hands for the water [falling from Muhammad], and smearing it on their heads and faces for a blessing, he said: 'I swear by Allah that I have never seen the Qayssar or the Kesra enjoy such honour.' In short, after Abu Sofyân had become a Musalmân, A'bbâs said: 'O apostle of God, Abu Sofyân is a man

fond of dignity and pomp. Appoint him to something, that he may be exalted and honoured among the Qoraish.' Thereon his lordship replied: 'Whoever enters the house of Abu Sofyân will be safe; whoever throws away his arms will be safe; whoever locks his door will be safe; and whoever enters the mosque of the sanctuary will be safe.' Muhammad E. Esahâq relates that when his lordship said, 'Whoever enters the house of Abu Sofyân shall be safe,' Abu Sofyân replied: 'My house is not large enough.' Then that prince said: 'And whoever enters the Ka'bah shall be safe.' Abu Sofyân continued: 'The Ka'bah is not large enough.' Then his lordship said: 'Whoever locks his door will be secure.' Abu Sofyân exclaimed: 'That is large enough.' And when he had departed to Mekkah, with the permission of his holy and prophetic lordship, A'bbâs spoke to the apostle of God as follows: 'Abu Sofyân has not seen the army of Islâm fully and completely, so as to become impressed by its strength, and I fear when he returns to Mekkah he will become a traitor and offer resistance; therefore I think it will be proper to retain him in this place, that he may behold the glorious army with its arrangements, and be awed by seeing the defenders of Islâm.' His lordship approved of this advice, and said to Abbâs: 'Overtake Abu Sofyân, and detain him in a narrow spot, that the army of God may pass in review before him.' Accordingly A'bbâs hastened after Abu Sofyân, and when he was near him he shouted: 'O father of Ḥanttalah!' Having become suspicious, Abu Sofyân asked: 'O ye Bani Hâshem, are you harbouring treachery in your minds?' A'bbâs replied: 'The adherents of prophets are no traitors, and I want thee merely to halt in a place to see the army of God march with their weapons, accoutrements and appliances of war, which they have in readiness to attack the enemies and opponents and to punish the idolaters.' A'bbâs then took Abu Sofyân to a narrow passage, whereon his lordship issued orders to the troops to array themselves in the same way as they had started from Madinah, and to march by him in separate

battalions. The first brigade which passed was that of Khâled B. Wolyd, with one thousand men of the Bani Solym, who considered the battle-field to be a joyous assembly, and imagined that a day of fighting was like a night of wedding. In that brigade there were two standards, one being held by A'bbâs B. Mardâsy, and the other by one of the companions. When Abu Sofyân beheld them, he asked A'bbâs: 'Who are these?' and the latter replied: 'Khâled B. Alwolyd.' Abu Sofyân continued by way of slight, 'What! this youth?' Abbâs said, 'Yes.' When Khâled arrived opposite to Abu Sofyân, he uttered the *Takbyr* thrice in a loud voice, and passed on. After Khâled B. Alwolyd came Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm with five hundred Arab heroes carrying a black standard. When this legion arrived near Abu Sofyân it likewise shouted the *Takbyr*, and he asked A'bbâs: 'Who is the general of this battalion?' The latter replied: 'Zobayr.' Abu Sofyân asked: 'The son of thy sister?' Abbâs said: 'Yes.' After Zobayr came three hundred men of the Bani Ghuffâr, and their banner was carried by Abu Dhar Ghuffâry. When they passed near Abu Sofyân they shouted the *Takbyr* as before. He questioned A'bbas concerning them, and received the information he wanted. Then the Bani Ka'b B. A'mru arrived, who possessed five hundred celebrated troopers, and their flag was carried by Bashyr B. Sofyân. When Abu Sofyân asked about the name and fame of that company, he said: 'They are the confederates of Muhammad—u. w. b.' When the Bani Ka'b had likewise marched by, shouting the *Takbyr*, one thousand of the tribe Mazynah arrived with three standards, and when Abu Sofyân recognised his own tribe, he said: 'I have nothing to do with them.' After that the people of Jahannyah arrived, and were followed by three hundred men of the Shuja' with one standard. Then came the Bani Leith, the Bani Hamzah, and the Bani Sa'd B. Bakr. When A'bbas informed Abu Sofyân about the Shuja', the latter said: 'Of all the Arabs, these people have been the greatest enemies of Muhammad.' To his remark Abbâs replied: 'But God the Most High

and Glorious has inspired them with love for Islâm, which was a favour and a benefit from the Boundless Giver.' Abu Sofyân then said: 'O father of Fadzl, it seems Muhammad has not yet passed.' A'bbâs replied: 'No; and if thou beholdest the imposing train in the midst whereof the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—is, thou wilt be convinced that no one can resist his army.' According to another tradition, Abu Sofyân asked A'bbâs about every tribe which passed, and, after receiving information, he said: 'I have nothing to do with them.' When the forces had marched by, the august cavalcade of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—appeared all of a sudden, consisting of nearly five thousand celebrated and noble Mohâjer and Anssâr.

Verses: They had Davidian[382] cuirasses on their breasts,
And flint-splitting scimitars at their sides.
All had lances from Khatt,[383]
All had Indian swords,
Riding Arab horses and camels;
Every one of them was a hero of his time,
A hundred times more brave than Rustam or Esfendyâr.[384]

Abu Bakr Ssiddyq rode on one side of his lordship, and on the other Asyd B. Khadzyr, with both of whom he was conversing. The eyes of Abu Sofyân, who had beheld the magnificence and numbers of the army of Islâm, being dazzled, he said in his confusion to A'bbâs: 'I have never seen nor heard of an army as strong as this. O A'bbâs, the power of thy brother's son has become great!' A'bbâs replied: 'This is apostleship and prophecy, not kingdom and power!' It is related that on the said day Sa'd B. A'bâdah, who carried the standard of the Anssâr, preceded his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—with one thousand of them at a short distance, and that when they arrived opposite to Abu Sofyân they shouted: 'Abu Sofyân, this day! This day is the battle! This day the

[382] Qurân, ch. xxi. 80. 'And we taught him [i.e., David] the art of making coats of mail for you.'

[383] Khatt is a certain place in Yamamah, and a port, where famous spears were manufactured.

[384] See Part I., vol. ii., of this series, pp. 234, 237.

sanctuary will be delivered! This day Allah will humble the Qoraish!' Then they turned to their companions, exclaiming: 'O ye men of Rûs and Khazraj! take vengeance this day for the battle of Ohod!' Abu Sofyân said to A'bbâs: 'Joyful is the day of battle!' But when Sa'd B. A'bâdah had passed by after thus threatening Abu Sofyân, his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—arrived with his intimate companions near Abu Sofyân, who shouted: 'O apostle of God, hast thou issued orders that thy own people be slain?' His lordship said: 'No.' Abu Sofyân continued: 'I hope God—whose name be blessed and exalted—and the consanguinity subsisting between thee and the Qoraish, will hinder thee from shedding their blood, and that thou wilt be kind and forgiving towards thy relatives; for, verily, thou art the most beneficent and compassionate of men!' His lordship replied: 'Sa'd has spoken those words heedlessly and wrongly. This day is a day of joy and mercy. This is the day on which God—whose name be praised and exalted—will cause the Qoraish to be honoured. To-day Allah the Most High and Glorious will increase the magnificence of the house of the Ka'bah by dressing it up with curtains.' O'thman B. O'ffân and A'bdu-r-rahman A'wuf, however, replied: 'O apostle of God, we are not sure whether Sa'd will not inflict a calamity on the Qoraish.' The apostle of God thereon ordered Qays B. Sa'd to take the banner away from his father, and in some traditions it is related that he commanded A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—to take the standard from Sa'd B. A'bâdah.

After all the Musalmâns had defiled in front of Abu Sofyân, some said to him: 'Now thou must go to Mekkah and intimidate the Qoraish to become Musalmâns, so that they may be delivered from the grasp of death.' Abu Sofyân then departed in the greatest haste to the sanctuary On that day so much dust was raised by the quadrupeds of the victorious army, that it ascended higher than the tops of the mountains.

The conquest of Mekkah is narrated in the *Rawdzatu-l-*

âhbâb as follows: The Qoraish were not cognisant of his lordship's approach, and when they beheld Abu Sofyân arriving in great haste, they met, and asked him: 'What is the news, and what is the cause of this dust?' He replied: 'Woe to you! Muhammad has arrived with a numerous army, clad in iron and steel, and most of his troopers are heroes whom no one can resist. He, nevertheless, has promised to spare the life of every man who enters my house, throws away his arms, cr locks his dwelling, or takes refuge in the mosque of the sanctuary.' They replied: 'The curse of Allah be on thee! What news is this thou hast brought us?' When Hinda, the spouse of Abu Sofyân, who had come out to meet him, heard her husband speaking in the above manner, she lost her patience, took hold of his beard, reviled him, and shouted: 'O family of Ghâleb, kill this old fool that he may not utter such words!' But Abu Sofyân replied: 'Insult me as you like, but I swear that you will be killed unless you profess the Faith. Return, therefore, to your houses, lock the door, and say nothing more.'

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* there is a statement [about the approach of the army of Islâm] which has been recorded above, but some of its portions are for their interest inserted in this place also [as follows]: When the army of Islâm had arrived in Marâ Al-tzahrân, which is four farsangs distant from Mekkah, it halted, and was found to consist of ten thousand, but according to another tradition of twelve thousand men, every one of whom his lordship ordered to light a fire that night. The Qoraish had till that time obtained no information about the prophet—*u. w. b.*—but they were afraid, because they knew that he intended to go to Mekkah. They therefore despatched Abu Sofyân to reconnoitre, and told him, in case he should encounter Muhammad, to ask quarter for them. Abu Sofyân B. Harb, and Hakym B. Huzâm, and Hodhayl B. Warqâ left Mekkah, and advanced till they reached the top of a hill near Marâ Al-tzahrân, and perceived that the whole country was [as it were] on fire. After relating this scene,

the author of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* states that there is a tradition of A'bbás B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb that he said: 'When I perceived that night the fires at Marâ Al-tzahrân, I said to myself: If the prophet goes to Mekkah with this army, ere the Qoraish ask him for quarter they will be cut up, and will be annihilated. Accordingly I mounted his lordship's own private mule and proceeded as far as the place called Arák, my intention being to find either a wood-carrier, a milk-seller, or a beggar going to Mekkah, and to inform him of the state of affairs, so as to warn the inhabitants to consider their position. I, however, suddenly heard and recognised the voice of Abu Sofyán and Hodhayl conversing with each other, and exclaimed: "O father of Hanttalah!" He likewise knew my voice, and asked: "Is this the father of Fadzl?" I said: "Yes." He continued: "What are these fires, and to whom do they belong?" I replied: "Woe to thee! This is the apostle of God with ten thousand men." He queried: "What is our remedy?" I replied: "Bestride this mule in my rear." Hodhayl and Hakym then returned to Mekkah, but Abu Sofyán, who had not yet become a Musalmân, nor obtained quarter, stopped.' The author of these pages considers it strange that, although the writer of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* had believed and recorded it in his work, that Hakym B. Huzâm and Hodhayl B. Warqá had received information from A'bbás—u. w. b.—about the numbers of the army of Islám, and the manner of the approach of the best of men, and had returned [with that information] to Mekkah, he nevertheless alleges that the Qoraish possessed no knowledge of his lordship's approach, and that when they beheld Abu Sofyân arriving in haste, they met him and asked: 'What is the news, and why this dust?' The author of these pages says that as the Qoraish had remained ignorant of the approach of the apostle of God, the tradition, according to which Hodhayl and Hakym were in the company of Abu Sofyân at Mará Al-tzahran, and were also honoured by being admitted to kiss the carpet of his holy

and prophetic lordship, will be the correct one. Allah, however, knows best the true state of the matter.

It is related that as the various detachments passed by Abu Sofyân, they continued to march in the same manner till they arrived in Dhu Ttawa, where they halted till the apostle of God arrived with the principal Mohâjer and Anssâr. When the blessed eyes of his lordship scanned that great army assembled under his victorious banners, he remembered his unhappy and forlorn condition at the time of his Flight; and having placed his august forehead on the cover upon the back of his camel, he offered, mounted as he was, the prostration of gratitude, saying: 'Thanks be to the Lord, who conveys me after a short time with so numerous and brave an army to Mekkah, to conquer it and to govern it!' After that he ordered Zobayr to march into Mekkah from its upper portion, and the standard belonging to his lordship to be conveyed to the Hajûn, but no further, till he joined it in person. That prince also ordered Khâled B. Wolyd to march into Mekkah with the battalions of Aslam and Ghuffâry, with all the heroes of the age, from the lower portion thereof, whilst he himself proceeded with a company of his intimate friends by another route to the place of their destination. Orders were also issued that no individual be allowed to insult or to attack the inhabitants of the sacred city in any manner whatever; but in the event of any heedless or shameless persons daring to assail the victorious army, they were to be repelled and restrained in a composed and quiet way.

It is related that when Akramah B. Abu Jahl, and Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, and Sohayl B. A'mru heard of the approach of Khâled B. Alwolyd, they made, with a number of valiant men of the Bani Bakr, of the Bani Alhâreth, and of the Bani Hazyl, preparations for attacking him, and hastened to meet him. The two opposing parties actually encountered each other in a place called Ja'dyah, came to blows, and continued fighting till they reached Harurah, which is near the sacred mosque, where twenty-eight of the opponents were sent to hell by the scimitars of the com-

batants for the religion, and ten men of the battalion of Khâled tasted the beverage of martyrdom.

Ebn Hanttalah, who was a celebrated champion among the idolaters, rushed, protected by a cuirass and helmet, on a fleet horse, like an iron mountain, towards the camp of Khâled B. Alwolyd; but when he reached the place called Ja'dyah and beheld the army of Islám, he was overpowered by fear, and all his limbs quaked. He alighted from his courser, threw away his helmet with his cuirass, and ran till he arrived on the threshold of the Ka'bah. Another company of heretics fled to the tops of the mountains, to which the Musalmâns pursued them. On that occasion Abu Sofyân and Hakym B. Huzâm exclaimed: 'O ye Qoraish people, do not carelessly expose yourselves to be killed. Every one who enters his house will be safe, and every one who throws away his arms will be safe.' Accordingly the idolaters threw away their weapons and took refuge in their houses, the Musalmâns collecting the arms for their own use. Meanwhile the prince of former and of latter times arrived at Thabyah, which is near the sanctuary, and, perceiving a cloud of dust, he asked about the cause of it, and was told that it arose from Khâled B. Alwolyd's battle with the idolaters. When the opponents had been put to flight, Khâled B. Alwolyd was admitted to the honour of foot-osculation; and when his lordship reminded him of the prohibition to fight, he replied: 'They first attacked us, and we were obliged to defend ourselves.' His lordship was satisfied with the reply.

In some traditions it is recorded that when the apostle of God arrived in Mekkah it was brought to his notice that Khâled B. Alwolyd, having unsheathed the scimitar of vengeance, was engaged in slaying the people. His lordship therefore called one of his friends, and said: 'Go and tell Khâled to cease killing the inhabitants.' But when the messenger reached Khâled, he said [on the contrary]; 'The orders of the apostle of God to thee are to attack them with the sword, and to grant quarter to no one.' Therefore Khâled slew on that day seventy of the opponents. It is

related that when Khâled was admitted to kiss the most noble and exalted carpet, his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—asked: 'Why hast thou acted contrary to my orders, after I had sent thee a messenger to stop the slaughter?' Khâled replied: 'O apostle of God, thy messenger told me to destroy them with the sword.' His lordship then summoned the courier, and asked: 'What have I told thee?' He replied: 'Thou hast said, "Order Khâled to cease to slay." I was about to utter these words, when I perceived a man whose head touched the sky, but whose feet were on the ground. He had a dagger in his hand, which he placed on my breast, saying: "Tell Khâled to work among them with the sword, and if thou obeyest not I shall kill thee with this poniard."' Hereon the apostle of God exclaimed: 'Allah is true, and His apostle is true. On the day when my uncle Hamzah was killed I said: "If I vanquish the Qoraish I will slay seventy of them." On that day God the Most High and Glorious prohibited me from retaliating in this manner; but to-day He wanted to fulfil the words of His apostle.'

It is related that his lordship had ordered his private tent to be pitched on the Hajûn, and that his companions obeyed. When his lordship entered it he washed his head and body from dust. After that he bathed, donned his cuirass, put on his helmet, mounted a camel, and rode to the sacred mosque. On his right hand rode Ssiddyq Akbar [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr], and on his left Asyd B. Khadzyr, with Ballâl B. Ryâh and O'thmân B. Ttolhah, all of whom attended on the heaven-aspiring stirrup. Muhammad B. Moslamah was leading by the bridle the camel of his lordship, who recited the Surah 'Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory.'[386] They reached the sanctuary in this manner, his lordship arriving therein without opposition. Having illuminated the sacred mosque with the light of his presence, he touched the black stone with his crooked staff, and opened his wonderfully eloquent mouth by shouting the *Takbyr*, wherein the army of Islâm joined

[386] Quran, ch. xlviii. 1.

him. This exclamation inspired with fear the young and the old among the Qoraish, who were contemplating the army of Islâm from the tops of the mountains. After having completed the ceremony of circumambulating the Ka'bah, his lordship alighted and purified the Ka'bah from idols. Biographical works are filled with the accounts of this proceeding, and [with the narrative] that three hundred and sixty idols, the greatest whereof was Hobal, had been erected by the idolaters around the Ka'bah. In some copies we read that Eblis had fixed the bases of all these idols underground with lead, but that, nevertheless, when the apostle of Allah touched them with the lance or stick he had in his hands, and uttered the words: 'Truth has come, and falsehood has departed,' the idols fell on their faces at the mere touch of the staff. It is said that on this day every idol which happened to be in the houses of the polytheists of Mekkah fell to the ground. On that occasion the lord of apostleship ordered A'li—u. w. b.—to throw down Hobal, and to break to pieces Asáf and Nâylah. According to another tradition, Asáf had been erected in Saana'â, but Nâylah on [Mount] Marwah. Asáf B. A'mru had been a man of the tribe of Jorham, and Náylah, the daughter of Sohayl, also belonged to that tribe. They had committed adultery with each other in the [very] house of the Ka'bah, and therefore God the Most High had changed them into stone. The Qoraish, however, actually adored these two statues in their complete folly and aberration. When these two idols were broken a nude black woman issued from one of them, whereon his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'This is Nâylah. But she will never any more be worshipped in your country.' There is a tradition ascribed to A'bdullah B. A'bbás—u. w. b.—that whenever his lordship pointed on that day to the face of an idol, the same immediately fell on its back, and whenever he pointed to the back it fell on its face. It is an authentic report that the Mekkans had placed several large idols in a high place, which could not be reached with the hands, and that when his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—entered the house

of the Ka'bah with A'li Murtadsa—u. w. b.—and perceived the idols, A'li said: 'O apostle of God, place thy blessed foot on my shoulder and bring down the idols.' His holy and prophetic lordship, however, replied: 'O A'li, thou canst not bear the weight of prophecy. Place thy foot on my shoulder, and undertake this business.' A'li obeyed, and when his foot was on the shoulder of the apostle of God—u. w. b.—the latter asked: 'A'li, how feelest thou?' A'li replied: 'I feel as if all obstacles had vanished, and as if my head were touching the leg of the throne of God, and that I could attain any object to which I stretch forth my hand.' His lordship asked: 'O A'li, hast thou reached what thou hast wished?' A'li replied: 'I swear by that God who has sent thee in truth, that I fancy, if I wished, I could touch the sky with my hand.' It is related that after A'li had thrown down the idols, he sprang from his lordship's back to the ground and smiled. His lordship having asked him for the cause of his hilarity, he replied: 'Because I have jumped from a high place, and feel no pain.' His lordship asked: 'O A'li, how couldst thou feel pain, since Muhammad has lifted thee up, and Jebrâil has taken thee down?' On the day when Hobal was broken, Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm said to Abu Sofyân: 'The idol of Hobal to which thou hast prayed, and of which thou hast boasted on the day of Ohod, is broken.' Abu Sofyân replied: 'Let me alone, and do not blame me, for this would not have happened if Muhammad had another partner in deity.'

It is related that the key of the house of the Ka'bah was with Sollâfah, the daughter of Sa'd, some of whose sons had been slain in the battle of Ohod, as has been narrated above; and when his lordship stayed in the sacred mosque he said to Ballâl: 'Go to O'thmân B. Ttolhah, whose mother is Sollâfah, and tell him to bring the key of the Ka'bah.' O'thmân accordingly went to his mother and asked for the key, but Sollâfah hesitated to surrender it, saying: 'If they take the key from you, they will never surrender it again.' O'thmân, however, expostulated with

his mother; and as he did not return for a long time, his lordship despatched Ssiddyq and Fârûq to bring the key. They obeyed, but stopped at the door of the house, where O'mar exclaimed: 'O'thmân, come out; the apostle of God is waiting.' When Sollâfah knew on what errand Abu Bakr and O'mar had come, she said to O'thmân: 'Take the key; my son, and give it to them. For it is better that thou take it than Yatym and A'dy.' By these two names Sollâfah alluded to the genealogy of Ssiddyq, which ended with Yatym, and that of Fârûq, which ascended to A'dy. After O'thmân had received the key from his mother, he carried it to the mosque of the sanctuary, and the apostle of God stretched out his hand to take it from him. A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, however, rose and said: 'O apostle of God, as thou hast appointed me to be superintendent of the Zamzam, bestow upon me also the chamberlainship of the Ka'bah.'[366] When O'thmân heard these words he hesitated to give up the key. His lordship then said: 'Give the key to me;' and O'thmân still vacillated, drawing back his hand again, when A'bbas repeated his request. His holy and prophetic lordship hereon exclaimed: 'O'thmân, if thou believest in God the Most High and Glorious and in the day of judgment, thou wilt give the key to me.' Then O'thmân said: 'Here it is. Take it, O trustee [of the house] of God.' After that they opened the door of the house; his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—entered it and performed his devotions. In several biographical works it is recorded that when the door of the Ka'bah was opened the apostle of God entered it, and after praying with two flexions he took his position on the threshold of the house, touching with his hands both the doorposts and also holding the key, and that on this occasion A'li the Commander of the Faithful advanced a few steps, saying: 'O apostle of God, bestow the chamberlainship of the house on a member of thy family in the same way as thou hast done with the superintendence of

[366] The word is *Hejâba*, implying the possession of the key and control of the Ka'bah. See note 64.

the [well] Zamzam.' Then his lordship called O'thmân, and said: 'Take the key of the Ka'bah, for this day is a day of beneficence and fidelity.' Some allege that his lordship spoke [to O'thmân] as follows: 'Take it, ye sons of Ttolhah, and keep it for ever and ever. No one shall deprive you thereof, except by way of injustice.' Commentators and biographers are of opinion that on this occasion the verse 'Verily Allah commandeth you to restore the deposits to whom they belong'[367] was revealed. Some, however, have another tradition about the taking of the key; but as the author of this work desires brevity, he has been satisfied with the mention of one only. The U'lamâ of biographies narrate that on this occasion, when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had taken hold of the two doorposts, the majority of the chiefs of the Qoraish and grandees of Mekkah stood in lines around the Ka'bah, waiting for orders concerning themselves, whereon that prince uttered the following words with his pearl-dropping lips: 'Praise be to Allah, who has fulfilled His promise.' But according to another tradition he said: 'There is no God but Allah only, who has no partner. He has fulfilled His promise and aided His servant.' According to another tradition, he said: 'He aided His army, and disappointed the confederates. Allah has warded off [the companions of] the elephants [formerly] from Mekkah, and has [now] appointed over it His apostle and His faithful people.' After that he asked the inhabitants of Mekkah: 'What say you, and what think you of me?' They replied: 'We speak well and we think well of thee, O noble brother and son of a noble brother. Verily thou hast obtained power over us.' There being no allusion to the story of Yusuf [Joseph] in the reply of the Mekkans, his lordship said: 'I tell you what my brother Yusuf said: "Let there be no reproach cast on you this day. Allah forgiveth you, because He is the most merciful of those who show

[367] Qurân, ch. iv. 61. Rodwell translates the verse thus: 'Verily, God enjoineth you to give back your trusts to their owners,' etc.

mercy."[388] He also said: "Depart, for ye are free." Then he preached a very eloquent and rhetorical sermon. Although he was not a writer, he drew the pen of abrogation over the customs and usages of [pre-Islamitic] ignorance, and abolished the arduous decrees concerning retaliation and blood mulcts, as well as the claims [for ransom] current before the promulgation of Islâm, saying: 'Every claim for blood and property made in the time of ignorance is [now] plaised under my foot, and I abolish it, except the service of the Ka'bah and the purveyorship of the pilgrims.' He also said: 'O ye Qoraish, God the Most High and Glorious has deprived you of the boast of ignorance, and of the pride and glorification wherewith ye domineered over other men. Abandon your haughtiness, for all men and sons of Adam are made of clay. They are brothers, and enjoy no advantage over each other, except according to their [respective] piety and abstinence.' Then he recited the verse: 'O ye men, verily we have created you male and female, and have made you peoples and tribes that you may know each other. Verily he of you who is most pious is most honoured in the sight of Allah. For Allah is wise and knowing.'[389] When the time of the matutinal prayers was at hand his holy and prophetic lordship ordered Ballâl to mount to the top of the Ka'bah and to proclaim it. When the idolaters heard the voice of Ballâl, some of them, such as Heshâm, the brother of Abu Jahl, and Hukm B. Ala'ass, uttered improper sentiments; but Abu Sofyân B. Harb, who was present, said: 'I say nothing, but I believe that if I speak one word this gravel will not report it to Muhammad.' Jebrâil, however, descended, and informed the apostle of God concerning the assemblage of that company, whereon his lordship summoned those men, and repeated to every one of them what he had said. They were confused, but uttered the formula of monotheism, and Abu Sofyân exclaimed: 'As for myself, O apostle of God, I have said nothing.' And the prophet—u. w. b.—laughed.

[388] Qurân, ch. xii. 92.

[389] *Ibid.*, ch. xlix. 13.

We know for a certainty that, after his holy and prophetic lordship had prohibited the victorious army from killing any of the inhabitants of Mekkah, he treated the latter kindly, whereon the Anssâr said to each other: 'This man, namely, the apostle of God, has gained the affection of the people as well as of his clansmen, and is fond of his birthplace.' Meanwhile the signs of Divine revelation began to manifest themselves on the august person of his lordship, and when the celestial inspiration had irradiated him, he addressed [reproaches to] the Anssâr: 'You have spoken so and so?' But they denied it; and he continued: '[You said, "God forbid that we should vacillate! We are the servants of God and of His apostle. We have exiled ourselves for His and for thy sake. We shall adhere to thee in life and death."' Hereon the Anssâr began to weep [for joy], and said: 'By Allah! we have spoken those words because we are attached to God and to His apostle.' His lordship then said: 'God the Most High and His apostle are believing you, and are asking your pardon.'

We know from authentic traditions that, before the apostle of God entered Mekkah, he ordered eleven men and six women to be captured and slain, no matter where they would be found, and no matter if within or without the limits of the sanctuary. One of the men [to be killed] was A'bdu-l-u'zza B. Khanttal, and the reason for shedding his blood was that he had become a Musalmân before the conquest of Mekkah, but had nevertheless wantonly killed a believer, had apostatized, and had fled to Mekkah. The details of this affair are as follows: When Ebn Khanttal had arrived in Madinah and had become a Musalmân, his lordship called him by the name of A'bdullah, and sent with him a man of the tribe Khozaa'h to collect the Dzakât [legal alms] in a certain tribe, and a man attended on him as a servant during the journey. One day Ebn Khanttal told this Khozaa'y to prepare food for him, which he would eat as soon as he awoke. This fellow, however, was lazy, and when Ebn Khanttal awoke he found nothing to eat, but, on the contrary, the Khozaa'y himself carelessly asleep.

This sight added to Ebn Khanttal's fire of hunger the fire of anger, and his passion so overpowered him that he slew his companion. After that he considered that if he were to return to Madinah the apostle of God would punish him; he therefore apostatized, and returned to Mekkah with the quadrupeds he had obtained as tributary alms. On the day the city was conquered he armed himself and fought against Khâled B. Wolyd; afterwards, however, he fled from the battle, and took refuge in the house of the Ka'bah, as has been recorded above. Whilst his holy and prophetic lordship was engaged in circumambulating the Ka'bah, one of his companions, having caught sight of the man, exclaimed: 'Lo, here is Ebn Khanttal, who has taken hold of the curtains of the Ka'bah.' Then his lordship ordered him to be killed.

Another man of this kind was [A'bdullah] the milk-brother of O'thman B. O'ffân B. Abu Ssarâj, who dwelt at Madinah, and was by the exalted command [of the prophet] engaged in writing down the Divine revelation, but he committed treachery in writing the glorious Qurân, by altering the words thereof. On a certain occasion he said: 'Muhammad B. A'bdullah knows not what he is speaking, and I say whatever I like, and write it down for him. Indeed, the Divine revelation comes down upon me in the same way as it comes down on him.' When his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—became aware of his felony, A'bdullah ran off to Mekkah, and on the day of the conquest thereof he requested Othmân to intercede for him with the prophet, so as to save his life. Accordingly some days afterwards O'thmân took him into the august assembly, and upon the strength of the obligation he was under to his mother [who had suckled them both] he asked his lordship to grant him quarter, but received no answer. O'thmân having several times reiterated his petition without obtaining any reply, he approached that prince, took his blessed head into his arms, and said: 'O apostle of God, thou hast given A'bdullah to me!' After he had thus begged for a long time, the apostle of God said: 'Yes.' When

O'thmân had departed from the assembly with A'bdullah B. Sa'd, his lordship said to those present: 'What has hindered any one of you from rising and spilling the blood of that dog?' A'bád B. Bashar then said: 'I swear by that God who has sent thee to the people that I was expecting a wink of the eye from thee! Had I not understood that thou hast slightly assented [to the request], I would have struck him down with my sword!' His lordship, however, replied: 'It is not becoming in a prophet to commit treachery by a wink of the eye.' It is related that after A'bdullah had obtained pardon he again made profession of the Faith, and some of his adventures will be narrated in the record of the Khalifate of O'thmân, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

A third man of this class was Howyrath B. Nafyr, who had with his unhallowed tongue greatly derided his lordship. When Mekkah was taken, and he had heard that people were searching for him, he left his house after A'li —who stood at the door of it—had gone away, and tried to conceal himself, but was overtaken on the road by the Commander of the Faithful, who executed the orders of the prince of men and demons with reference to him [and slew him].

Another individual of this kind was Maqys B. Sabábah, and the reason for shedding his blood was as follows: His brother Heshâm had come to Madinah and had professed the Faith, but in the Ghazwah of Martasa' one of the Anssàr mistook Heshâm for an idolater and slew him. When Maqys had learnt this, he came from Mekkah to avenge the blood of his brother, and his lordship ordered the Anssâr to pay the blood-ransom to him, after receiving which, and after becoming a Musalmân, Maqys [nevertheless] watched his opportunity, slew the murderer of his brother, apostatized, and fled to Mekkah, where he was on the day of the taking thereof engaged in a secret locality carousing with a number of idolaters. One of the companions, however, discovered that assembly, and made an end of his treachery with a good scimitar.

Another fellow of this kind was Hayar B. Alaswad, who had [formerly] much distressed his lordship, one of his misdeeds being that which he had committed with reference to Zaynab, the daughter of the apostle of God, as has been recorded above. On the day when Mekkah was taken the Musalmâns could not find Hayar, and when that prince returned to Madinah Hayar entered the august assembly, uttered the formula of monotheism, acknowledged the prophecy of his lordship, made profession of the Faith, took hold of the skirts of apology, and his crimes were pardoned by his lordship.

Another man of this class was Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, who had manifested great enmity towards the apostle of God. When he heard that sentence of death had been pronounced upon him he fled from Mekkah on the day it was taken, and endeavoured to reach the haven of safety by way of the sea. When O'mayr B. Wohb Hajmy represented his case to the world-adorning mind of the lord of existences, he requested that Ssafuwân might be pardoned, and after his petition was granted he pursued, overtook, and informed the latter of his success; but Ssafuwân was astonished, and exclaimed: 'I swear by God that I shall not return until thou bringest me a sign from Muhammad.' Accordingly his lordship gave either his turban or his shawl to O'mayr to show to Ssafuwân. The former obeyed, and also induced the latter to make a profession of the Faith and to return to Mekkah, where he was admitted to the presence of the best of men, and spoke to him as follows: 'O Muhammad, O'mayr tells me that thou hast given me quarter for two months. Is this true or not?' The prophet replied: 'O Ssafuwân, I have given thee quarter for four months.' Ssafuwân had, despite his idolatry, been present, and had attended on the heaven-aspiring stirrup in the Ghazwah of Ttâyf and of Honayn. When his holy and prophetic lordship was returning, and had arrived in the place called Jaghrânah, he discovered a pass full of cattle, and Ssafuwân was looking intently at the beauty of the sheep, as if wishing to devour them with

his eyes. His lordship, guessing the thoughts of Saafuwân, said to him: 'O Saafuwân, I present thee with all these.' After the latter had taken possession of the sheep and camels, he exclaimed: 'There is no soul as kindly disposed as the soul of a prophet.' Then he made his profession [of the Faith] on that very spot.

Another man of this class was Ka'b B. Zohayr, who had ridiculed his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—and had fled on the day of victory, thus saving his life. At last, however, love for Islâm prevailed in his heart, and he started with his brother Bahyr B. Zohayr to wait on his lordship, but before reaching the place of their destination he sent his brother in advance to propitiate his lordship. Bahyr, having been admitted to the felicity of foot-osculation, made a profession of the Faith, and knowing that Ka'b's doing so would likewise be acceptable, he interceded on that score for him. Ka'b arrived in Madinah in the ninth year after the Flight, became a Musâlman, composed an elegy in praise of his lordship the best of men, and was received into his intimacy.

Another man of this kind was A'bdullah B. Alzaba'ry, who had always insulted the Musalmâns and incited the idolaters to attack them; but when he heard what orders his holy and prophetic lordship had issued concerning him, he fled on the day Mekkah was conquered and went in the direction of Bakhran. At last, however, the love of Islâm prevailed over his mind, so that he repented of what he had said and done, and returned from Bakhrân with the intention of kissing the threshold of prophecy. When he arrived, the apostle of God recognised him from a distance, and said: 'Ebn Zaba'ry is coming, and the light of Islâm is shining from his face.' When Ebn Zaba'ry came nearer, he exclaimed: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that thou art the apostle of Allah. Thanks and praises be to Allah, who has guided me to Islâm! O apostle of God, I have offended thee many times, but now I repent of everything, and ask thy pardon. Order anything thou listest, for thou art the master of my life.' His lordship

replied: 'Praise be to Allah who has guided thee to Islâm! Be aware that the profession of Islâm blots out all other crimes.'

Another man of this kind was Hâreth B. Al-tâla'h, and the reason for shedding his blood was that he had much tried to injure and to insult the apostle. Therefore Ali the commander of the faithful—u. w. b.—having caught him, slew him on the day Mekkah was taken.

Another fellow of this sort was Wahshy, the murderer of Hamzah, whom the Musalmâns were anxious to kill, and therefore he fled on the day of the conquest of Mekkah to Ttâyf. After some time, however, he was, with a number of other men of that region, admitted to the felicity of kissing the feet of his lordship the apostle, whereon he said: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' His lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—asked: 'Art thou the murderer of Hamzah?' He replied: 'Yes.' His lordship continued: 'Sit down and narrate the murder of my uncle Hamzah.' After Wahshy had narrated the event, his lordship said: 'Let me not see thee any more.' Accordingly, Wahshy henceforth avoided to meet the apostle of God, but during the Khalifate of Ssiddyq Akbar [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr] he joined the army of Khâled B. Alwolyd to attack Moseylamah the liar, who was vanquished at Hadyqatu-l-mout, and whom he killed with the same dagger with which he had slain Hamzah. It is related that Wahshy said: 'I killed the best of men during the time of ignorance, and the worst of them during the time of Islâm.' Some chroniclers have narrated the affair of Wahshy in another manner in their books, but their details would only lengthen this account.

Another man of this kind was A'kramah the son of Abu Jahl, and his blood was to be shed because during the lifetime of his father he had been his partner in persecuting his lordship. After the decease of his progenitor he marched in an army with Abu Sofyân and other idolaters against his holy and prophetic lordship, and against the Musalmâns.

A'bdullah B. Zobayr has a tradition that in the year of the conquest of Mekkah, A'kramah B. Abu Jahl fled to Yemen for fear of being punished by the professors of Islâm. He had an intelligent wife, O'mm Hakym by name, who was the daughter of Hâreth B. Heshâm, Hâreth being the brother of Abu Jahl. On the occasion when the women of Mekkah paid homage to his holy and prophetic lordship, and made their profession of Islâm, O'mm Hakym said to that prince: 'The son of my uncle [*i.e.*, my husband] has fled to Yemen for fear of thee, and I appeal to thy kind disposition to grant him pardon.' His lordship replied: 'I grant him the pardon of Allah. Let no one injure him who encounters him.' Then O'mm Hakym went in search of A'kramah and found him near the shore, embarked in a vessel ready to sail, and on her making signs from the land A'kramah ordered a boat and approached her. O'mm Hakym exclaimed: 'Son of my uncle, I come from the best of men. Return! return! he has granted thee pardon.' It is related that A'kramah heard with the greatest pleasure the tidings of the forgiveness of the prophet of latter times—u. w. b.—and asked O'mm Hakym: 'Daughter of my uncle, thou hast besought him to forgive me; and has he granted me pardon despite all the injuries and insults which I have heaped on him?' O'mm Hakym rejoined: 'Yes; his kindness surpasses description and explanation. Return, and do not jeopardize thy life [by flight].' A'kramah assented, and, being overpowered with lust, whilst they were travelling desired to have connection with his wife, but she replied: 'I am a monotheist, and have been invested with the ornament of the Faith, but thou art an idolater, and void of the light of religious knowledge. I shall not allow thee to enjoy me until thou hast become a Musalmân.' A'kramah said: 'It is a very great matter which hinders thee to join me.' When A'kramah had reached the vicinity of Mekkah, his lordship was apprised of his approach by Divine inspiration, and said to his friends: 'A'kramah, the son of Abu Jahl, is coming to you as a believer and a Mohâjer. You

must not insult [the memory of] his father, for to speak evil of a dead man may insult a living one, although it cannot injure the dead one.' Meanwhile O'mm Hakym put a veil on her face, and betook herself with her spouse to his lordship's tent, which she entered after obtaining admission, and said: 'O apostle of God, I have brought A'kramah.' His lordship jumped up for joy in such a manner that his blessed *Redâ* fell from his back, and he gave permission to A'kramah to enjoy the happiness of kissing his fingers. When A'kramah entered, his lordship resumed his seat, and the former, standing opposite to him, spoke as follows: 'O Muhammad, this woman says that thou hast granted me pardon, and that I have nothing to apprehend from thy wrath?' He replied: 'She spoke truth, and thou art forgiven.' A'kramah then said: 'I testify that there is no God except Allah alone, who has no partner, and I testify that thou art His servant and His apostle.' He then drooped his head, perfectly abashed, and continued: 'O apostle of God, thou art the most veracious and the most honest man, but we have accused thee of falsehood on account of our great wretchedness and ignorance.' His lordship said: 'Ask whatever thou likest, and I shall comply with thy request as far as I am able.' Hereon A'kramah said: 'I ask thee to pray to the Lord of Glory to forgive me for every kind of enmity I have manifested towards thee, and for every step I made to elevate the banner of infidelity and to strengthen the professors of idolatry in order to show enmity to thee, and to blot out and to pardon every transgression committed by me either openly or secretly with reference to thee!' Accordingly his lordship lifted up his hands in prayer, asking God the Most High to pardon A'kramah all the sins he had himself enumerated. The latter continued: 'O apostle of God, I swear by God that for every dirhem I spent during the time of ignorance to obstruct the religion of God the Most High, I shall disburse two for the promotion thereof, and that for every one of the friends of Allah the Most High whom I have murdered during the time of my

infidelity I shall slay two of His foes.' It is said that after A'kramah had become ennobled by the robe of Faith he made great efforts to extinguish the blaze of infidelity and wickedness, until the time when he tasted the beverage of martyrdom in the Ghazwah of Ajnadyn, during the Khalifate of Fâruq [*i.e.*, O'mar].

It is related that on the day when Mekkah was taken, A'kramah had killed a Musalmân and had fled. When this was brought to the notice of his lordship the best of men, he smiled, but those who were present wondered, and said: 'O apostle of God, what wisdom is there in laughing in this case?' He replied: 'I have been informed that the slayer and the slain will grasp each other's hands, and will thus enter paradise.' This explanation intensified the amazement of the companions, because A'kramah had been a very prominent infidel, and they thought he was very far from professing Islam. Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss relates that when A'kramah fled on the day on which Mekkah was taken he embarked in a vessel intending to sail to Yemen, but the waves of the sea became agitated, and the people who were in the ship said to each other: 'Sit down, for your God will not ward off anything from you.' A'kramah, however, poured forth his orisons to the courts of the Omnipotent Sovereign, saying: 'O Lord Most High, I promise that if I am saved from this calamity I shall go to Muhammad and become one of his adherents.' When the storm had abated A'kramah [disembarked and] made his appearance in the assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—s. w. b.—and professed the Faith. Some have related that when the sea became stormy the captain of the ship said to A'kramah: 'Make a sincere profession!' The latter rejoined: 'What must I do, or what must I say?' The captain continued: 'Say: "There is no God but Allah, because in this place no one can save us except the Lord of the inhabitants of the world."' A'kramah asked: 'Meanest thou the God to the acknowledgment of whose unity Muhammad is inviting us? But I have fled to avoid uttering these words.' It is related in some

biographical works that at the time when A'kramah was proceeding to Yemen by sea, he happened to read on the ship's side the words: 'Thy people are liars; for He is God;' and though he tried much to efface them, he was unable to do so. Some allege that he scraped off these words several times, but that they reappeared again. Then he said, 'This is a Divine command,' requested the vessel to be turned back, and this having been done, he left it, went to Mekkah, and having been admitted to the foot-osculation of the lord of existences, he made his profession of the Faith.

Of the women, concerning whom the sentence of capital punishment had been decreed by the court of prophecy, one was Hinda, the mother of Moa'wiah, who had disembowelled Hamzah, and had masticated his liver on the day of Ohod. When, however, Mekkah had been conquered, she joined the women who went to pay homage to the apostle of God, and having tied a veil over her face, she entered the august assembly unknown to anyone, made her profession of Islâm, removed the covering from her face, and said: 'I am Hinda, the daughter of O'tbah.' His lordship replied: 'Having arrived as a Musalmán, thou art welcome.' Hinda thereon manifested love and sincerity, his holy and prophetic lordship opened his blessed mouth with congratulations towards her, and accepted her profession of Islâm.

Among the number of the [condemned] six women, there were also two slave-girls of Ebn Khanttal who had been singing songs in derision of the apostle of God. One of them was killed and the other fled, but some time afterwards obtained pardon. The name of the slain girl was Qarynah, and of her who had become a Musálman, Qaranâ. Another person of this kind was also the freed slave of Ebn Khanttal, who was killed on that day. Another was Sârah, the manumitted slave of the Bani Al-muttalleb, who was, according to the assertion of the author of the *Kamelu-t-tawarikh*, slain on the day of the conquest of Mekkah. The sixth of them, Omm Sa'd, was likewise killed on that day.

Some Events that took place during his Lordship's Sojourn at Mekkah.

It is related that on the second day after the conquest, a man named Jundab, of the tribe Badyl, arrived in Mekkah, and Farash B. Ommyah Ka'by pierced him with a sword, so that his bowels fell out. Jundab leant awhile against a wall, and [his soul] departed to the next world. When his lordship heard of this act, he preached a very eloquent sermon to this effect: 'From the day on which Allah the Most High created the heavens and the earth, He prohibited the blood of the inhabitants of Mekkah to be shed till the day of the resurrection. No pious servant who believes in God is permitted to shed blood in Mekkah, nor is any Musâlman allowed to fell trees, to pull out grass, or to hunt in Mekkah.' He continued: 'If anyone says that it is licit to shed blood in Mekkah because the apostle of God has fought there and has shed blood, tell him that ere this it was not licit to anyone, nor shall it be so afterwards. Nor was it permitted to me except during one hour of the day, after which the inviolability of the sanctuary again returned to its former condition. O ye Khozaa'h people, abstain from murder! I order you to pay the blood-mulct for this slain man, and if hereafter you again kill somebody, his heirs shall have the option either to retaliate or to accept the blood-ransom.' Let it not remain hidden that the following words of the prince of the pious, 'It was not licit to me to spill blood, except during one hour of the day,' refer to the circumstance narrated in traditions, that on the day of the conquest of Mekkah some of the Qoraish vagabonds had assembled at the instigation of their chiefs and had kindled the fires of slaughter, and that by order of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—the victorious army had, for the purpose of exterminating them, drawn forth the arm of power from the sleeve of bravery, but had after the expiration of one hour terminated the carnage, likewise by the command of that prince; the tradition being to the purport that after the world-adorning mind

had been informed that the Qoraish perished, he ordered the troops to sheath their scimitars and to cease [fighting], the Khozaa'h tribe alone excepted, which had permission to kill every man of the Bani Bakr whom they could lay hold of.

One of the events which took place at the time of the conquest of Mekkah was that Khâled B. Alwolyd had been ordered to sally forth with thirty troopers to destroy the idol temple of U'zza, which he did by marching to Nakhlah, accomplishing his purpose, and again returning. When he made his report, his lordship asked: 'Hast thou seen anything in that place?' He said: 'No.' His lordship added: 'Thou hast not yet annihilated U'zza.' Khâled accordingly returned to the locality in anger, drew his sword, and made inquiries about U'zza. He then discovered [the statue of] a nude black woman with dishevelled hair, whom he approached, uttering the words: 'Thou art not to be believed nor to be praised! Allah has humbled thee!' and cut her in twain with his sword. Thereon he returned and informed the prophet of what he had done, and his lordship said: 'That [statue of a woman] was U'zza, who will no longer be worshipped in your country.'

Further, Sa'd B. Zayd Ashhal was sent to the idol-temple of Menât to demolish it, this being an idol worshipped during the time of ignorance by the tribes Awus, Khazraj, and Ghusân. When Sa'd entered the temple of Menât he beheld a black naked woman with dishevelled hair coming out of it, striking her breast and lamenting; but Sa'd finished her with one blow of his sword, and having demolished the temple, he was made happy by being allowed to wait on the prince of existences.

Further, after Khâled B. Wolyd had returned from Nakhlah, he was ordered to march to Yalmalam and to make inquiries about the tribe Hozaymah, who had during the time of ignorance slain the uncle of Khâled, whose name was Ghâk B. Moghyrah, and also A'wuf, the father of A'bdu-r-rahman, which event had taken place as follows: The last-named two individuals had returned from a trading

excursion to Yemen, and had arrived in Yalmalam, in which place the greediness for their property impelled the Bani Hozaymah to murder them and to take possession of their goods. When Khâled B. Wolyd arrived, with one hundred and fifty Mohâjer and Anssâr, as well as the Bani Salym, in the vicinity of the habitations of the Bani Hozaymah, the latter became suspicious, and having for a precaution donned their armour, they went out to meet Khâled, who asked them: 'Who are you?' They replied: 'We are Musalmâns professing the Muhammadan religion.' Khâled continued. 'Why are you armed, and why have you come out to meet me?' They replied: 'There is enmity between us and between an Arab tribe; we thought that perhaps you might be of that tribe.' This subterfuge was not accepted, and Khâled said: 'Put away your arms.' They obeyed, whereon Khâled ordered their hands to be tied to their backs, and each prisoner was taken charge of by one of his companions. During the night Khâled issued orders to slay all the captives, and they were executed by the Bani Salym, the Mohâjer and the Anssâr refusing to co-operate. One, however, of the Bani Hozaymah [escaped and] reached the august assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to whom he represented what had taken place. There is a tradition to the effect that as soon as the Bani Hozaymah had thrown away their arms by order of Khâled he immediately assailed them, and put nearly thirty of them to death. In short, when his lordship the apostle had been apprised that Khâled B. Alwolyd had slain a number of men who were accustomed to worship in their mosques, he rose, turned his glorious countenance towards the Qiblah of prayer, and exclaimed thrice: 'O God, I am innocent of what Khâled has done.' Then he sent a great deal of property by A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—to pay the blood-ransom and for the goods destroyed to the Bani Hozaymah, intending to make good the error of Khâled B. Alwolyd, and thus to offer some consolation to that unfortunate tribe. A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—obeyed orders, and consoled the Bani Hozaymah.

After he had returned from Yalmalam, and the prophet had become convinced that the Bani Hozaymah were satisfied, he pardoned the act of Khâled at the intercession of one of his friends. It is said that A'bdullah B. Abu Khudâr Aslamy was in that expedition, and that a youth of the prisoners of the Bani Hozaymah had been surrendered to him, and requested him to take him to one of the tents of the women for something he had to do there. A'bdullah complied with the request of the youth, who entered a tent, spoke a few words, and recited some distichs to a woman, who answered him. Then A'bdullah took the youth to the camp of Khâled, and when he had been slain by order of the latter, the woman arrived, threw herself on the corpse, and moaned till she surrendered her soul to the Creator. When the people who had been present in the expedition informed the august mind of this event, his lordship remarked: 'There was not one compassionate man among you.'

The Ghazwah of Honayn.

Wâqidy has related that when the apostle of God had conquered Mekkah, the nobles of the tribes Hoâzân and Thaqyf said to each other: 'Muhammad has vanquished the Qoraish, and after he has completed their subjugation he will probably turn against us; therefore it will be suitable that we attack him ere he prepares his army and marches towards us.' After this consultation the tribe Hoâzân entrusted Mâlek B. A'wuf Annassry—who was in the vigour of youth, and celebrated for his liberality and munificence—with the supreme command. The Bani Nassr, the Bani Khashym, the Bani Sa'd B. Bakr, and a number of the Bani Hallâl obeyed him, but the clans Ka'b and Kallâb, of the tribe Hoâzân, refused to do so. The chiefs of the Thaqyf also prepared an army and joined Mâlek B. A'wuf. Some allege that on this occasion the commander of the Thaqyf was Qâreb B. Alaswad; others, however, assert that their chief was Kunânah B. A'bd Shumâlyl Thaqfy. In fine, thirty thousand men had agreed

to attack his holy and prophetic lordship, and took Woryd B. Ussamad—who was blind, one-handed, and sixty years of age, but distinguished by his great intelligence among the young and the old—along with them on their march. When they arrived in Awttâs, Woryd heard the crying of the children, the voices of females, and the bellowings of cattle, and asked: 'What sounds are these which I hear?' The people replied: 'Mâlek B. A'wuf has brought the families and property of the combatants along with the army.' Hereon Woryd called Mâlek, and asked him his reasons for bringing all these. Mâlek replied: 'To induce the troops to be valiant in battle, for the sake of protecting their relatives, lest by becoming separated their name and reputation might be jeopardized. If their property is with them, they will fight bravely to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, and in this manner they will also be hindered from fleeing.' Woryd rejoined: 'This is a mistaken opinion and a vain hope, because if circumstances compel the people to flee nothing will retain them, and if thou gainest the victory it will be solely attributable to the valour of the swordsmen and lancers. If, however, the contrary takes place, only disgrace and shame will fall to thy lot.' He further asked where the Ka'b and the Kallâb clans were, and was told that they had not joined the army. Then he said: 'Luck and activity have abandoned you; for if this had been a day of honour and exaltation to you the Ka'b and the Kallâb would not have stayed away. Would to God you had followed their example, and had not embarked in this business!' After that he asked: 'What chiefs of the people are present?' And being told that A'mru B. A'amer and A'wuf B. A'amer were there, he said: 'What can be expected from these two sheep?' During this conversation Woryd also said to Mâlek: 'It will be proper to remove the women, children, and property of the army to a strong fortress, and to march to the battle only with brave combatants.' Mâlek, however, rejected this advice, and said: 'O Woryd, thou art old. Dotage has overtaken thee, and thou knowest not what thou

sayest.' Woryd replied: 'O ye Hoâzân tribe, Mâlek will disgrace you. Your wives, children, and property will fall into the hands of the enemy, whereon the dust of shame and misfortune will cover you. He will abandon you, and will run into the fort of Ttâyf. Discard him and return.' These words made the people inclined to follow the old man's advice. Mâlek, however, exclaimed: 'O ye Hoâzân tribe, obey me, and mind not what anyone else says.' Then he drew his sabre, leant with his breast against it, saying: 'If you do not obey me, I shall fall on this sword so that it will come out at my back.' The Hoâzân said: 'If we are rebellious he will commit suicide, from a feeling of wounded honour. Woryd, being old, blind, and weak, is unable to command us, and we know of no other man able to do it.' They therefore disregarded Woryd and adhered to Màlek, who marched with them to Honayn.

When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was informed of the approach of the enemy, he despatched A'bdullah B. Abu Hadzar Aslamy to reconnoitre and to bring correct information. He also ordered the victorious army to make preparations for battle, and appointed A'bbâs B. Asyd to be his lieutenant in Mekkah. According to one tradition he marched with twelve thousand men—ten thousand of which belonged to his own army, and two thousand of those who had been liberated at Mekkah—and according to another with sixteen thousand, to Honayn. On that occasion he demanded one hundred cuirasses from Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, and the latter queried: 'O Muhammad, wilt thou take them forcibly, or as a loan?' His lordship replied: 'As a loan.' Then Ssafuwân loaded the cuirasses on his own camels, and sent them to that prince. A'bdullah B. Abu Hadzar obeyed orders, visited the camp of the enemy, and returned with the information that he had seen great numbers of men, with an immense quantity of arms and property; whereon his lordship answered, with a smile: 'I hope all that property will become the plunder of the Musalmâns.'

It is said that Mâlek B. A'wuf had sent three men to spy

out the army of Islâm; but they returned with fear and trembling, and when Mâlek asked them for the reason of their trepidation, they said: 'When we arrived near the army of Muhammad we beheld men dressed in white riding piebald steeds, and we have never before seen men like them. It will now be proper for thee to return; for if thy army encounters those men, it will become as frightened as we are, and will flee.' Mâlek, however, reproved the spies and kept them near himself, lest they might divulge what they had seen. Then he despatched another spy, who returned with the same news as the preceding ones. Mâlek persisted in his enmity in spite of this strange information [about the celestial warriors on piebald horses], until he was defeated.

It is said that when Ssiddyq Akbar scanned the multitudes of the army of Islâm, he said: 'This day we shall not be conquered on account of the paucity of our army.' Some biographers allege that these words had been uttered by another companion; but when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—heard them he was displeased, and on account of those words God the Most High and Glorious put the army of Islâm to flight in the beginning, to convince the people that victory can be gained only by the favour of the Omnipotent Sovereign, and not by great numbers; and with reference to this subject the verse 'Verily, Allah has given you the victory,' etc., was revealed.

Mâlek B. A'wuf had entered the Wâdy of Honayn before the arrival of the army of Islâm, leaving his troops in ambush, and ordering them to rush upon the Musalmâns as soon as they perceived them. The prophet reviewed his army just before the impending battle, giving a standard to O'mar B. Alkhattâb, another to A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—another to Sa'd B. Abu Woqqâss, and so on to the chief of each Arab tribe, and marched against the enemy. The passage, however, being narrow, the army of Islâm entered the Wâdy of Honayn in separate detachments by numerous routes. The opponents were watching their opportunity, attacked the Musalmâns suddenly, and so confused them

that they fled. The first brigade which commenced to run was that of the Bani Salym, with the multitudes under Khâled B. Alwolyd, most of whom had no arms [having thrown them away in their flight?]. The defeat was so general that but a small number remained around the person of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—with the following heroes: A'li—u. w. b.—A'bdullah B. Masu'd, Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb with the children of Ja'fer, and Rabya'h with the sons of A'bbâs, Quthan and Fadzl, and Asâmah B. Zayd with his brother and the brother of his mother, Omm Ayman. When his holy and prophetic lordship perceived that his companions acted according to the proverb, 'The tenets of apostles cannot put a stop to flight,' he desired to comfort them with the words: 'Do thou [O prophet] bear [the insults of thy people] with patience, as [our] apostles who were endued with constancy bore [the injuries of their people],'[370] and to induce them to remain steadfast in the battle. He therefore several times repeated, with his pearl-dropping mouth, the words: 'O ye helpers of Allah, and helpers of His prophet, I am the servant and the apostle of Allah.' According to another tradition he said: 'Where to, O men?' The confusion of the Musalmâns was, however, so great that not one of them looked back. On that occasion the apostle of God impelled the camel on which he was mounted to move towards the enemy; but Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth took hold of its bridle, and A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, catching hold of the heaven-aspiring stirrup, would not allow him to proceed. Hereon his lordship shouted: 'I am the prophet! I do not lie! I am the son of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb.'

Jâber—Allah reward him!—says: 'We marched as far as the Wâdy of Honayn, where the enemy was concealed in ambush in a gorge. All of a sudden we perceived a multitude, armed with swords and lances, rushing at us and putting us all to flight, so that no man cared for another man. The apostle turned to the right side of the Wâdy,

[370] Qurân, ch. xlvi. 34.

to which place also nine of the Bani A'bd-ul-Muttalleb hastened, and guarded him, taking up their positions around his camel. On that occasion Mâlek B. A'wuf exclaimed: 'Pôint out Muhammad to me!' And when he learned where the prophet was, he hastened towards him, but Ayman, the son of Omm Ayman, obstructed his way, and fought with him till he attained martyrdom. After that Mâlek tried much to approach the apostle of God, but his horse refused to move.

It is related that when the Musalmâns had fled and were dispersed, the Qoraish idolaters and a number of Mekkans, who had been compelled *nolens volens* to embrace Islam on the day the city was taken, rejoiced and vented their feelings of envy, uttering expressions resembling those of Abu Sofyân B. Harb, who said: 'The companions of Muhammad are flying so furiously that they will halt nowhere until they reach the seashore' Another man exclaimed: 'Good news to thee, O Ssafuwân: Muhammad and his friends have fled from the battle-field!' And Kaldah B. Hanbal, the maternal brother of Ssafuwân B. Ommyah, said: 'This is a day on which sorcery becomes useless.' But Ssafuwân replied to everyone, saying: 'Be silent! May Allah break thy jaws! If a man of the Qoraish is my ruler, I am more pleased than when one of the Hoâzân becomes governor.'

There is a tradition of Muhammad B. Esahâq that Shaybah B. O'thman B. Abu Ttolhah stated as follows: 'When the prophet marched to Honayn I was also present, intending to wreak vengeance upon him if opportunity served for the deaths of my father and brother, who had been killed at Ohod. When the two armies met, and the Musalmâns had been put to flight, but the apostle of God had remained, I alighted from my camel, bared my sword, and intended to attack him from the right side; I, however, caught sight of A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb standing in a white cuirass which shone like silver, and cleaning the dust from the person of that prince. I then said to myself: "This is the uncle of Muhammad, and I can do

nothing to him on this side. Then I meant to rush at him from the left, but there I perceived his uncle's son, Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth, protecting him, and saw that I could not touch him with a lance in that direction. Accordingly, I determined to get at him with my sword from the rear, but I perceived a flame of fire, like lightning, which intervened between him and me, so that I was nearly burned. This so frightened me that I covered my eyes with my hands, and that very instant his lordship happened to cast a glance at me, saying: "O Shaybah, come nearer!" When I approached he placed his hand on my breast, and exclaimed: "O God, drive away Satan from him!" I swear by God that then his lordship became dearer to me than my own ears and eyes. Then I began to fight the infidels by order of his lordship, and if at that time my father had been alive, and had been an enemy of the apostle of God, and had encountered me, I would have slain him.'

It is said that in the morning of the day of Honayn, when the Musalmâns had been dispersed, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said to A'bbâs, who had a strong voice: 'Call our friends in this manner: "O ye Anssâr, O ye companions of brownness, O ye companions of the chapter of the cow."'[371] Abbâs obeyed, and the companions who heard his exclamation hastened from all directions to wait upon the prince of existences, whom they found to be safe. The first crowd who enjoyed the felicity of kissing the heaven-aspiring stirrup consisted of a number of Anssâr, whom his lordship asked: 'Are there any others with you?' They replied: 'No; but if thou wilt go to Rak A'mâd, we shall not fail to serve thee, and to place our very lives at thy disposal.' After that the army became victorious, as God the Most High has said in the glorious Qurân: 'Allah afterwards sent down His security upon His apostle and upon the faithful, and sent down troops [of angels] which ye saw not,' etc., to the end of the verse.[372]

[371] This is the title of ch. ii. of the Qurân. [372] Qurân, ch. ix. 26.

It is related that when the companions had, in consequence of the call of O'thmân [*supra* A'bbâs], assembled around the apostle of God to the number of nearly one hundred, they again attacked the enemy with perfect confidence, and his lordship exclaimed: 'Now the furnace of war is heated, and the fires of the battle are kindled.' During the contest the apostle of God alighted from his camel, took up a handful of earth, saying, 'The countenances are touched,' and, in fact, there was not a single eye into which some of that earth had not entered, and some traditions have it that their mouths were filled with earth. After that he mounted a camel, and implored the Lord of Glory to vouchsafe him the victory. Then the breeze of conquest wafted over the army of Islâm, and the infidels fled in confusion. There is a tradition that his lordship ordered his camel to stoop, and that he took up a handful of earth in this position. There is also a statement that he had taken up the earth by order of Jebrâil, and some allege that A'li took up a handful of soil according to the command, which he handed to the prince of the inhabitants of the world. Jâber the Anssâri states: 'The noise of the gravel, which the apostle of God projected in the battle of Honayn, at the faces of the idolaters, so struck my ears that I imagined sand was being poured out from the sky into a dish;' and this event is referred to in the blessed verse: 'Neither didst thou, O Muhammad, cast [the gravel into their eyes] when thou didst [seem to] cast it; but Allah cast [it], that He might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from Himself.'[373] There is also a tradition that in the said battle every stone and every tree assumed in the eyes of the opponents the shape of a trooper pursuing them. There is a tradition of Jobayr B. Motta'm that he said: 'When the Musalmâns drew their swords and attacked the infidels, I perceived something black descending from the sky, which fell down between us and the enemy. Looking closely at the object, I discovered it to be a mass of black ants, which became

[373] Qurân, ch. viii. 17.

so numerous that they filled the length and breadth of that Wády. In connection with this circumstance the glorious companions overpowered the professors of heresy and of hypocrisy, but I entertain no doubt that those ants were angels.' Sa'yd, the son of Jobayr, states: 'God the Most High and Glorious sent five thousand [angels?] to aid us.' It is related of Mâlek B. Awus that he said: 'Some of my people who were present in the battle have related that when his holy and prophetic lordship threw a handful of gravel against us there was not a single man on our side whose eyes it had not touched. Our hearts began to trepidate, and great confusion overwhelmed us. Between the sky and the earth I perceived men dressed in white garments and mounted on piebald horses. They had sáshes on both shoulders, and we became so frightened that we were unable to look at them.' It is on record that after the termination of the battle one of the opponents asked: 'Where have those men dressed in white and mounted on piebald horses gone to, by whose efforts alone we have been defeated?' When these words were reported to the august mind of his lordship he said: 'They were angels.'

It is related that in the Wâdy of Honayn an idolater, Abu Jardal by name, was riding towards the Musalmâns on a camel. He was a fearless warrior and great shedder of blood, so corpulent and tall that none of the Arabs dared to encounter him in single combat, or to attack him. In his perfect self-confidence and pride Abu Jardal was on that day reciting Rajaz verses and challenging an opponent; the victorious companions, however, hesitated to fight him, but all of a sudden the lion of attack, and son of the Mussttafa's uncle [*i.e.*, A'li] rushed on Abu Jardal, and slew that obdurate wretch with his bright scimitar in such a manner that the sanguinary planet Mars was astonished, the professors of Islâm were comforted, and the idolaters discomfited.

Four men of the victorious army attained the honour of martyrdom, seventy of the opponents departed to hell, and the Hoâzán, with the Thaqyf, fled from the battle-field in

the most abject manner. On that day six thousand cloaks, twenty-four thousand camels, forty thousand Oqyas of silver, and more than forty thousand sheep, fell into the hands of the professors of monotheism and piety. In consequence of this victory, many hypocrites and heretics became adorned with the decoration of the Faith, entered the circle of adherence to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and placed their heads on the line of obedience.

After the companions had again become victorious in the battle, by an increase of Divine favour, the opponents dispersed in three directions. One detachment proceeded with Mâlek B. A'wuf to the fort of Ttâyf, another fled into the *Battyn* [*low country*] of Nakhlah, and the third hastened to Awttâs in order to guard the property there. His lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—whose luminous mind was the depository of the evident signs [*i.e.*, verses of the Qurân] despatched Abu A'amer Asha'ry with a detachment, in which was also Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm and Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, the cousin of Abu A'amer, in pursuit of the fugitives towards Awttâs. The Musalmân forces overtook the opponents after traversing the necessary distance, and used their swords and lances to gain the approbation of God the Most High. While, however, the fire of contention and battle was raging, Abu A'amer, the commander of the glorious army, attained the honour of martyrdom, while Abu Mûsa, making the best use of the weapons for piercing and striking, put the infidels to flight, and Woryd B. Ussamad, the general of the idolaters, or, according to another tradition, Ebn Al-da'h, departed to hell.

This victory became the cause of many others, and the victorious troops hastened in due order to the foot-osculation of the prince of former and of latter times. After Mâlek B. A'wuf had been put to flight, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—ordered the spoils to be collected in the place called Joghrân, in order to distribute them as an opportunity occurred, the surveillance over the plunder and the captives being meanwhile entrusted to A'bâd B.

Bashar the Anssâry. One of the prisoners was Asmâ, the daughter of Hâreth B. A'bdu-l-'uzza, whom the companions treated harshly in her captivity, although she repeatedly assured them that she had been the milk-sistêr of the prophet. They would not believe her, but at last placed her on a camel and conveyed her to the exalted presence of his lordship, to whom she said: "I am thy foster-sister, O apostle of God.' He replied: 'There must be a sign to prove it.' Accordingly she mentioned some circumstances in her remembrance, and as soon as the prophet recognised her he leapt up from his seat, and, spreading out his sacred *Redâ*, honoured Asmâ with a seat thereon. Tears trickled from his sacred cheeks, and he inquired about Halymah, as well as about her husband. Asmâ replied: 'It is a long time since they have departed from this to the next world.' His holy and prophetic lordship continued: 'If thou art inclined to remain with us thou wilt be honoured and respected, but if not I shall give thee something wherewith to return to thy country.' But according to the proverb, 'The love of one's country is a part of religion,' Asmâ preferred to depart, and was presented by his lordship with one girl, three slaves, camels, and sheep. Kasyl reports that there exists a tradition to the effect that when Asmâ became adorned with the decoration of the Faith, and returned to her country, her people said: 'Why hast thou not asked the apostle of God to pardon the trespass of Bajâd?' This man was a connection of Halymah, and his crime consisted in having one day cut a Musalmân to pieces and burnt him. His lordship had therefore issued orders—on the occasion when he sent his victorious troops in pursuit of the fugitives of Honayn—to capture Bajâd. This having been done, the man was kept prisoner till Asmâ arrived and interceded for him at the request of her people, whereon he was pardoned. His lordship questioned Asmâ also about her other relatives, and she replied: 'My brother, sister, and uncle are still living.' His lordship said: 'Return and live with thy people in Joghrân, for I shall go to Tâyf, shall meet you again next year in Jogh-

rân, and make arrangements for your subsistence.' Accordingly, when his lordship paid a visit to Asmâ and to her people in the just-named place, he presented her and her relatives with a great deal of property and cattle.

The Ghazwah of Ttâyf.

It has been narrated above that a number of idolaters had left the battle-field in dismay with Mâlek B. A'wuf and had gone to Ttâyf. Some of those people were of the tribe Hoâzân and some of the Thaqyf, who had, before the battle and subsequent flight, strengthened and provisioned that citadel for a whole year; accordingly they garrisoned and closed it, being again prepared for war. When this information came to the knowledge of his lordship, who was the promulger of the signs of mercy [*i.e.*, verses of the Qurân], he concluded to march in that direction and to conquer the fort. He then entrusted A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—with the glorious standard, and sent Abu O'baydah Jurrâh, or according to another tradition Khâled B. Alwolyd, with one thousand valiant combatants for a vanguard, and marched after them himself to Ttâyf with the rest of the army. During the journey the castle of Mâlek B. A'wuf, near which the army passed, was burnt by order of the prophet, who arrived at his destination after performing the march, and encamped near the fort, the garrison of which, however, poured forth a shower of arrows, wounding numerous Musalmâns; therefore, the august camp was shifted to a position where the mosque of Ttâyf stands at present. On that occasion Ttofayl B. A'mru, who had gone to demolish the idol-temple of Dhu-l-Kayf, returned, and joined the victorious army with four hundred men of his own people and tribe, who carried with them appliances needed for a siege. His holy and prophetic lordship also ordered his glorious companions to fell the date-trees and to destroy the vineyards of the neighbourhood. Perceiving these operations, the people of the fort began to lament and to implore his lordship to show mercy for the sake of God and the poor cultivators, and to order

the soldiers to cease felling the trees; but his lordship replied: 'I abandon them to the mercy of God.' During this siege, which lasted eighteen or, according to others, forty days, great battles took place, so that many of the glorious companions were wounded; twelve of them tasted the beverage of martyrdom, and one of the martyrs of Ttâyf was A'bdullah B. Abu Bakr Ssiddyq. While the siege lasted his lordship one day issued orders for a proclamation to be made to the effect that, 'Everyone coming from the fort to us shall be free,' in consequence of which nearly twenty slaves came down, attained the felicity of carpet-osculation, and were all manumitted by his lordship, who delivered their necks from the yoke of slavery, allotting each of them to a Musalmân, who had to provide for him. Afterwards, when the people of Ttâyf waited upon the prince of this world, professed the Faith, and surrendered the keys of the fort, they said: 'O apostle of God, restore to us our slaves.' His lordship replied: 'They are free-men of the God of mankind, and will never again be your serfs.' It is related that during the siege of Ttâyf his holy and prophetic lordship — u. w. b. — called A'li B. Abu Ttâleb and communicated many secrets to him, whereat the people were astonished, and said to each other: 'The prophet of God has told many wonderful and long secrets to the son of his uncle.' But when his lordship heard this, he said: 'I did not tell him mysteries, but God the Most High did'—meaning, 'I spoke to A'li by the command of God.'

Distich: Parrot-like I was kept before a mirror;
What the eternal master told me to say, I said.

It is related that during the siege of Ttâyf his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—once had a dream, in which he saw a large pitcher full of milk, or, according to another tradition, of fresh butter, and before he stretched forth his hand to taste it a cock made its appearance, which touched the pitcher with its beak and emptied all its contents. When his lordship narrated this dream to Ssiddyq [*i.e.*, Abu Bakr], who was an excellent interpreter, he replied:

'O apostle of God, this vision means that thou art not allowed to take the fort this year.' His lordship believed Saiddyq, and replied: 'Thou hast spoken the truth, for I have myself thus explained my dream.'

It is related that Khowlah, the spouse of O'thmân B. Motta'wun, requested the apostle of God to give her the trinkets and ornaments of the daughter of A'ylân and of the daughter of Sohayl when he conquered the fort, because these two women were, by their great property and numerous camels, distinguished above all the other women of Ttâyf. His lordship, however, replied: 'How can I give thee the ornaments of even one of these two women, since we are not allowed to take the fort?' She reported these words to the great Fârûq [*i.e.*, O'mar], and he also asked: 'O apostle of God, is it certain that the fort will not be taken?' He replied: 'Yes.' O'mar accordingly issued marching orders with the consent of his lordship, and the professors of Islâm being displeased with them, asked: 'How can we return without having taken the fort?' His lordship rejoined: 'Then fight!' The companions therefore attacked the fort, but again returned after receiving many wounds. His lordship then said: 'To-morrow we shall march away, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.' This time, however, the victorious army was greatly pleased, and marched away from the fort the next day.

It is related in some biographies that, while the siege of Ttâyf was being carried on, his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—appointed A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—with a number of glorious companions to make excursions into the country, and to destroy every idol they could find. The lord A'li—u. w. b.—obeyed orders and started, but encountered on the road a number of valiant men of the tribe Khusha'm, among whom there was a man so confident of his strength that he came out from among the people desiring to fight a duel, and as none of the professors of Islâm ventured to fight that idolater in single combat, A'li B. Abu Ttaleb—u. w. b.—at last responded to the challenge, despite of the protests of Abu-l-a'ass B. Rabyi', who was

the son-in-law of the apostle of God, and who said: 'It is not proper that the commander of the force should begin the combat, seeing that there are so many others. The Commander of the Faithful, however, replied: 'No other man is willing to go, and if I am slain, thou must take the command.' Thereon A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—met the traitor, and sent him with one stroke of his bright scimitar to the abode of perdition; afterwards he destroyed all the idols of the Bani Hoázân and of the Bani Thaqyf which were in that region. The apostle was waiting for his return near the gate of the fort of Ttâyf, and as soon as the prince of saints had terminated his business, he joined the august camp, was received by the seal [*i.e.*, the last] of prophets—u. w. b.—with the exclamation of the *Takbyr*, and was led into privacy, where the communication of mysteries, alluded to above, took place. Ja'ber relates that while the prophet and A'li were closeted together, O'mar entered, and said: 'O apostle of God, tellest thou secrets to A'li?' And when his lordship gave the reply already mentioned [above], Fârûq repented of his question, returned, and said to himself: 'I fear this opposition will end like that of Hodaybiah.' A man who had been present in the Ghazwah of Ttâyf said: 'When we were marching away, I rode by the side of the apostle of God, and happened to wear heavy sandals on my feet. The two camels accidentally approached each other so closely that my sandal touched his blessed leg, whereon his lordship struck my foot with his whip, saying: "Go a little further, because my leg is aching." The next day, however, he sent a man to call me, and I said to myself: "Yesterday my sandal gave him pain, and possibly he will punish me to-day." But when I obtained the honour of foot-osculation, he said: "Yesterday I struck thy foot with my whip, and to-day I have summoned thee to accept the reparation." And he gave me fifty *Bunhahs*.'[374] Another companion says: 'When the apostle of God arrived in the locality of Qurn, he rode

[374] Probably fifty slices of dried meat are thus designated.

the she-camel Qasswy, and I was riding by his side. His lordship, desiring to strike the animal with his whip, accidentally struck me, then looked at me, and asked: "Has my whip touched thee?" I said: "Yes, O apostle of God; may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee;" and when we halted at Joghrânah [*supra* Jэghrân] he gave me one hundred and twenty sheep as a reparation, and, beginning with this capital of the sheep, I became [gradually] a man of property and opulence.'

Largesses of the Apostle of Men and Demons, and Distribution of the Spoils of Honayn.

When the apostle of God encamped in Joghrânah, he scattered gifts with his blessed hands, and bestowed rich presents on a number of new Musalmâns who had been surnamed *Múlfat Qulúb*. It is related that when the ready cash of the spoils was brought to his lordship, Abu Sofyân, who was very covetous, made good use of the opportunity, presented himself in the august assembly, and said: 'O apostle of God, this day thou art the richest man among the Qoraish!' His lordship smiled, whereon Abu Sofyân, intent on his own profit, continued: 'Give me some of this property.' Then his lordship ordered forty Oqyas of silver to be given to him, to which also one hundred camels were added. Abu Sofyân hereon said: 'Rejoice my son Yazid with a gift.' Hereon, at a signal of his lordship, the same amount was bestowed on Yazid. Abu Sofyân was, however, not yet satisfied, and asked: 'Where is the share of my son Moa'wiah?' His lordship then ordered forty Oqyas of silver and one hundred camels to be given to Moa'wiah likewise. Then Abu Sofyan exclaimed: 'May my mother and father be a sacrifice for thee! I swear by Allah that thou art liberal in war and in peace, and that thou hast been most bountiful and kind; may God reward thee!' In the same way he bestowed one hundred camels on Hakym B. Huzâm, and added at his request one hundred more. Every one of the Arab chiefs, such as Sohayl B. A'mru, and Saafuwân B. Ommyah, and Hoyttab B. A'bdu-l-u'zza,

and Asyd B. Hârethah Thaqfy, and Hâreth B. Heshâm the brother of Abu Jahl, and Qays B. A'dy, and Afza' B. Hâbes Yatmy, and O'tbah B. Hossyn Farâzy, were rejoiced with a present of one hundred camels each. Others, like Heshâm B. A'mru A'amery, and Makhranah B. Naofel, and Sa'yd B. Marbuu', who were not comprised in the above number, received fifty camels each. There are, however, two opinions on this subject among the U'lamâ, some alleging that these gifts were bestowed from the fifth part, and others that they were given from the whole booty.

It is related that on the above occasion A'bbâs B. Murdâs Aslamy received [not more than] four camels, and was grieved on that account. In his anger he recited some distichs, which his lordship overheard, turned to A'li Bin Abu Ttâleb and said: 'Get up and rescind his tongue from me!' A'li obeyed, took A'bbâs by the hand, went away with him, and A'bbâs asked: 'Wilt thou cut off my tongue?' His lordship, however, replied: 'I shall do what the apostle of God has commanded me.' Thus they proceeded till they arrived where the flocks of camels were. A'li then said to A'bbâs: 'Choose one hundred from these camels.' A'bbâs replied: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! How liberal, beneficent and knowing you are!' A'bbâs says: 'On that occasion A'li spoke to me as follows: "The apostle of God had given thee four camels, because he considered thee to be one of the number of Anssâr, Mohâjer, and intimate friends. If, therefore, thou art inclined to be considered one of those who partook in the Flight and afforded aid, thou must be content with four, but if thou desirest to be numbered with the *Mûlfat Qulûb*, take one hundred camels." I rejoined: "What sayest thou in this matter?" And A'li continued: "It will be better for thee to be satisfied with the gift of God and of the apostle, and not to be deceived by the goods of this world, which are only unrighteous gain:"

**Distich: Aspire to high ends, because God and the people
Will esteem thee according to thy aspirations.**

A'bbás continues: 'I said to A'li: "I shall agree to whatever thou likest, and as thou art second only to the apostle, I shall obey thy orders."'

In a tradition it is stated that when the prince of existences—u. w. b.—had gladdened the hearts of the Qoraish princes and of all the Arab chiefs with abundant gifts, to attach them more to Islám, and to [make them content at] their being [now] Musalmáns, he gave nothing at all either to the nobles, or to any of the Anssâr, on account of the trust and confidence he had reposed in them. Some of them, nevertheless, vented their feelings of anger and grief by expressing to each other sentiments like the following: 'He bestows these gifts on the Qoraish and on all the tribes, but we receive nothing.' According to another tradition, they said: 'This man, having arrived among his relatives and cousins, wishes to do them good; but wherever there is work and trouble, he sends us to undergo it, although our swords have been dripping with the blood of these idolaters.' When his lordship heard of this state of things, he ordered the Anssâr to congregate in a tent, excluding all other persons. He then addressed them as follows, after offering praises and thanksgivings to the Almighty: 'O ye Anssár, what words are these I have heard about you? Have you uttered them or not?' The principal men of that assemblage then replied: 'O prophet of God, our old men and chiefs have said nothing, and only youths have spoken in that manner.' His lordship continued: 'Have I not come to you when you were in a fiery pit from which God the Most High has delivered you?' The Anssár said: 'Yes; thanks be to Allah and to His prophet. According to another tradition, however, he said: 'Have I not found you in aberration, and has not the Most High guided you through me?' The Anssâr having acknowledged the verity of the assertions of the promulgator of truth, he continued: 'Have you not been foes to each other, and has not God made you friends through my instrumentality? Have you not been few, and God has made you many? Have you not been destitute,

and has not the Most High made you rich?' The Anssâr approved of all these sentiments, and the prophet—u. w. b.—asked: 'O ye Anssâr, why do you not answer me?' They queried: 'What reply can we give thee; may our fathers and mothers be a sacrifice to thee! Thou hast conferred obligations and favours upon us, and He who knows all secrets is a witness to these words.' The apostle of God continued: 'Say whatever you like, and be veracious.' They replied: 'Thou hast come to us when the people were accusing thee of falsehood but we knew thee to be truthful. No one cared for thee, but we have helped and assisted thee. Thou hast been expelled from thy country, but we have received thee in ours. Thou wast poor and destitute, but we were liberal towards thee. Thou hast come in fear, but we have given thee security.' His lordship rejoined: 'What you say is all true.' At these words the Anssâr began to weep; the old men among them arose, and, being ennobled by kissing the hands and knees of the prophet—u. w. b.—they said: 'O apostle of Allah, we are pleased with God and with His prophet. Let Him distribute our private property if He likes, because our minds are not bent on the goods of this world. Our grief and fear was to be separated from thee, and not on account of the smallness of our possessions.' His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—replied: 'The Qoraish are yet near to ignorance; I desired to remedy their misfortune and to rivet their hearts to the Faith.' According to another tradition, he said: 'O ye Anssâr, be not angry, for I give property to the *Mûlfat Qulûb*, but you I leave with your Faith, and trust to your perfect sincerity. Do you agree that others return to their homes with camels and sheep, but you with the apostle of God. I swear by Allah that what you return with is better than what the [other] people return with.' After that he said: 'To Ja'yl B. Soráqah, who is one of my poor but sincere and illustrious companions, I have given nothing; but to every one of the O'tbahs and Afza'hs I have given one hundred camels, although Ja'yl is more dear to me than a world full of

O'tbahs and Afza'hs. I am certain of his profession of Islám, and [by bestowing gifts on the others] my intention was to gain the people over, and to induce them to make a profession of the Faith. I mean, nevertheless, to write a document to the effect that after my decease Bahrayn—a better place than which does not exist among the localities God the Most High has vouchsafed to allow us to conquer—should be your own peculiar domain.' Now the Anssár again commenced to lament and to weep, saying: 'O apostle of God, after thy decease we have no need of this world, nor of the goods thereof. May the day never arrive when the shadow of thy favour will be removed from above our heads!' His lordship rejoined: 'There is no remedy against that day. After my time, when difficulties beset you, you are to remain steadfast and patient, that you may meet Allah and His prophet without shame and confusion. Your portion will be the lake Kawthar,[375] the length and the breadth whereof is as large as the distance between Ssana'â and O'mân, and the number of its vessels exceeds that of the stars.' According to another tradition, he said: 'After me you will encounter [various] events, but you must remain steadfast till you meet me near the lake.' He also said: 'The Anssár are my intimate friends, and the confidants of my secret. If the people walk one way, and the Anssár another, I shall follow the latter. O God, pardon the Anssár, and the children of the Anssâr, and pardon the Anssár!' Then the Anssâr began to weep so vehemently for joy and gladness that their moustaches were moistened [by their tears]. They poured forth their thanksgivings to God the Most High that they had not been decoyed by [the love of] riches, and that they had not apostatized from God and from the apostle.

It is related that a number of the Hoâzân, who had arrived at Joghrânah to kiss the feet of his holy and prophetic lordship, became Musalmâns, and informed his lordship that the rest of their tribe had made profession of

[375] Qurân ch. cviii. bears the above title. See Sale's notes thereon.

Islâm, and said: 'O apostle, we have families and clans, nor are the calamities and troubles which have befallen us unknown to thee. Oblige us now, and have mercy on us. May Allah reward thee!' It is related that among the nobles of those people the foster-uncle of his prophetic lordship and Zobayr B. Ssaru Sa'dy, the spokesman of that tribe, made their appearance in the august assembly, and said: 'O apostle of God, we had entrusted Hareth B. Abu Shammar Ghusâny and Nu'mân B. Mundhar with our government, which has at present fallen into thy hands. They dealt with us justly and mercifully; and now we expect from thy kind disposition that thou wilt restore to us the property and the captives thou hast taken among us, because some of these are thy foster-aunts on the paternal and the maternal side. As thou art the best security, withdraw not thy favour from us, have mercy on us unhappy ones, and abandon us to our affairs, because all affairs depend upon thy kindness.' His lordship the prince of existences replied: 'I delayed the division of the spoils, because I waited for your arrival and your negotiation on this subject. You have, however, arrived too late, and you see how many people are with me. Nevertheless, of all kinds of words, I love the true ones best. Make, therefore, your choice, and take back either your property or the captives.' They replied: 'We cannot abandon our families and children, taking sheep or camels instead of them, and cannot speak one word on this subject.' His lordship replied: 'I have reserved for you the share of the Bani A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, and I shall ask the people to surrender their portion to you. When I hold the matutinal prayers you must rise and ask me to intercede for you with the Musalmâns.' After the meridian devotions the Hoâzân people did what the apostle had told them; and, first uttering praises to God with his pearl-dropping lips, his lordship addressed the congregation as follows: 'Your brothers have come to us penitent and as Musalmâns. I have decided to restore to them their captives. Let, therefore, everyone who is inclined to comply do so; and let

everyone who is not inclined to part with his share retain it; and we shall give him in lieu thereof a portion of the property which God the Most High has been pleased to bestow on, us.' All, however, who were present in the assembly replied: 'O apostle of God, we unanimously and gladly agree to thy proposal.'

In some historical works it is recorded that when the tribe Hoázân asked in the assembly of the apostle of God for the restitution of their property, his lordship said: 'I give you my share and that of the Bani Hâshem.' Hereon the Mohâjer rose and exclaimed: 'Our share belongs to the lord of prophecy.' These words were likewise repeated by the Anssâr; but Afza' B. Hâbes, the leader of the [Bani] Salym, and O'tbah B. Hossyn Farâzah, the chief of the Bani Farâzah, said: 'We and our people do not agree with this statement.' A'bbâs B. Murdâs then said: 'I and the Bani Salym do not agree with this assertion.' The Bani Salym, however, accusing him of falsehood, said: 'Whatever belongs to us belongs to the apostle of God.' Then his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'To everyone who refuses [to part with his share] I shall give six camels for every prisoner [whom he will now surrender] from the first booty which God the Most High vouchsafes to bestow on us.' When the glorious companions beheld the endeavours of his lordship to get the prisoners released, they liberated all of them. Meanwhile his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—asked the Hoâzân people: 'Where is Mâlek B. A'wuf?' They said: 'In the fort of Ttayf.' His lordship continued: 'If he comes to us and makes a profession of Islâm, we shall restore to him his family and property, and moreover give him a present of one hundred camels.' As soon as this news was communicated to Mâlek, he joyfully made his appearance at Joghrânah, was made happy by being allowed to kiss the feet of his lordship the apostle, and was adorned with the decoration of the Faith. His lordship not only kept his promise, but appointed Mâlek to be governor of his own and of several other tribes, and then dismissed him.

On the 12th of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah, in the eighth year [after the Flight], his lordship donned the *Ehrâm*[376] for the pilgrimage, and departed from Joghrânah to Mekkah, where he performed the ceremonies, appointed E'tâb B. Asyd governor of the city, and left Moa'adh B. Jabal there, with Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, to strengthen the foundations of the edifice of Islâm, and to explain the laws and tenets of the religion, he having himself first also instructed them. He appointed Abu Sofyân B. Harb to be governor of Bahrân, which is situated in Yemen, and sent with him Kathyr B. A'bdullah as his assistant. After terminating these affairs the prince of existences again departed from Mekkah, returned to Joghrânah, distributed the spoils there, and arrived in Madinah at the end of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah.

One of the events of this year was that four men of the Bani Tha'lebah were made happy by being allowed to wait on the prince of this world, and to speak as follows: 'We are envoys from our people, and we have heard that Islâm cannot be perfect without exile.' His lordship, however, replied: 'Be pious wherever you are, and your [profession of] Islâm will be perfect, nor will it be the least injured on account of your not having undergone exile.' They were, by order of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—received in the house of Ramlah, the daughter of Alhâreth, and hospitably entertained for several days. Then every one of them was presented with four Oqyas of silver and dismissed.

In this year Zaynab, the daughter of the apostle of God, departed from the mansion of frailty to that of eternity. A bier was made for her, which was the first ever used in Islâm. She had been the wife of Abu-l-a'ass B. Rabyi', by whom she had two children, namely A'li, whom his holy and prophetic lordship allowed to sit behind himself on the same camel when Mekkah was conquered, and thus entered the city. That boy had almost reached the age of puberty when he bade farewell to this perishable

[376] Garb of a pilgrim, consisting of two sheets only.

world. The other was the girl Amâmah, whom A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—married after the decease of Fattimah Zohrah—u. w. b.—who had herself recommended him to do this. During this year Ebrâhim, the son of the prophet, was born, and when this news was conveyed to his lordship by Abu Râfi', he presented him with a slave and an *Aqyqah*.[377] When the head of Ebrâhim was shaved his lordship distributed alms of silver, weighing as much as the hair, which was afterwards buried.

Ghazwah of Tabuk, and Events of the Ninth Year after the Flight.[378]

Abu Sa'yd Samnány—Allah have mercy on him!—has narrated in some of his books that, after the Ghazwah of Honayn and the division of spoils, the apostle of God returned to Madinah, where he arrived on Friday, the 25th Dhu-l-qa'dah, and appointed, towards the end of the month Moharram of the ninth year, certain men to collect the legal alms from the Arab tribes who had recently embraced Islâm, and they brought the required amount to Madinah. One of these officials was Boryd B. Alhassyb, who had been despatched to the tribes Foqâr and Aslam; others, however, mention in his stead Ka'b B. Mâlek. A'bâd B. Bashar was sent to the Qurârah, Dzohâk B. Sofyân to the Bani Kallab, Râfi' B. Muktah to the Johaynah, and Bashar B. Sofyân Ka'by to the Bani Ka'b. At the time when the last-named individual met the Bani Ka'b they were assembled near a watering-place with the Bani Tamym. Bashar numbered the cattle of the former, and began to take the amount required for the legal alms; the latter, however, on account of their great envy and meanness, and because the number appeared to them to be too great, asked: 'Why is it necessary to give so much property to Muhammad?' The Bani Ka'b, however, re-

[377] This is the name of the sheep, or other animal, sacrificed during the first week after the birth of an infant.
[378] Began on April 20, A.D. 630.

plied: 'Because our tribe follows Muhammad and has accepted his religion, according to which it is a duty to pay legal alms.' Then the Bani Tamym grasped their swords and arrows, saying: 'We swear by Allah that this tax-gatherer shall not take a single camel away from this place.' And to Bashar they said: 'Do not be going around these camels.' Therefore, Bashar acted according to the proverb, 'Who saves his head is a gainer,' preferred flight to permanency, hastened on the wings of speed to Madinah, and reported what he had experienced from the Bani Tamym. His lordship then said to his friends: 'Who of you will take vengeance on the Bani Tamym?' Hereon O'tbah B. Hossyn Farâzy swore an oath, and exclaimed: 'I shall go after the Bani Tamym, and not return unless I take them and bring them to thee.' When his lordship perceived the readiness and inclination of O'tbah to undertake that task, he ordered a detachment of cavalry, consisting of fifty men, to accompany him, none of them being of the Mohâjer or Anssâr. O'tbah started with the troopers towards the rebels, marching during the night and lurking concealed in the day. In this manner they reached in due time the country of the Bani Tamym, whose dwellings, however, they found untenanted by combatants. They accordingly began to foray and to plunder them, whereon they returned to Madinah with eleven women, ten men, and thirty children, whom they had captured, and all of whom were accommodated in appropriate places by order of his lordship the refuge of termination. A number of the Bani Tamym, such as Afza' B. Hâbes, A'ttârid B. Hâjab, Warqâ B. Mundhar, Na'ym B. Sa'd, A'mru B. Alashham, and Qays B. Sa'd, proceeded [a short time afterwards] to Madinah in search of the people abducted from them, whom they visited first, as soon as they arrived in that blessed country, and afterwards proceeded to the mosque of the apostle of God. At that time the prophet—u. w. b.—happened to be in the apartment of A'ayshah. resting himself and slumbering. Being ignorant in what room the apostle of God was, the Bani Tamym knocked,

embarrassed as they were, at every door they passed, exclaiming: 'O Muhammad, come out!' Ballâl and the people of the mosque endeavoured to quiet them, but ineffectually, till at last his lordship awoke, and coming out, asked: 'What is the matter with these people, that they disturb my sleep?' When his lordship was returning to his august room, after holding matutinal prayers, the Bani Tamym, intercepting his way, said: 'Thy companions have taken away our wives and children without any hostility on our part.' It is related that his lordship said to them neither yea nor nay, but returned to his blessed chamber, where he prayed and then returned to the mosque. On that occasion Afza' B. Hâbes, of the Bani Tamym, spoke as follows: 'O Muhammad, allow me to speak, for praise to thee is an ornament, and reproof ignominious.' His lordship the best of men—u. w. b.—replied: 'Thou hast lied; for to praise God is an ornament, and to revile Him is ignominious. But what is your purpose?' They assented to what he had said, and continued: 'We have brought the poet and orator of our people to eulogize thee.' His lordship replied: 'I need no poets nor laudations. Say, however, what you want.' Accordingly Warqâ B. Mundhar said to A'ttârid B. Hajab, who was their most eloquent man and speaker: 'Rise, and deliver the harangue.' A'ttârid then got up, spoke some words in praise of God the Most High, and then expatiated on the excellency and nobility of the tribe Bani Tamym. When he had finished his speech, the son of the firmament of apostleship, from whose august forehead Jupiter[379] was borrowing felicity, ordered Thâbet B. Qays B. Shammâs the Anssâry to reply to his elocution, of which duty the latter acquitted himself with the greatest eloquence by first pronouncing the laudation of the Omnipotent Creator, and then enumerating the qualities and virtues of the Mohâjer and Anssâr, in conformity with the requirements of the

[379] This is a figure of speech alluding to *A'ttârid*, which means Mercury, to whom Jupiter is superior, but the prophet infinitely more so, because even Jupiter was borrowing felicity from him.

occasion. After Thâbet had terminated his reply to A'ttârid, Warqa, the poet of the Bani Tamym, rose and recited some distichs. After that Hasân obtained leave to speak from his lordship, and declaimed some verses, which elicited the approbation of A'ttârid. Afza' B. Hâbes also recited a few distichs, to which Hasân replied. When the interlocutions on both sides had ceased, Afza' B. Hâbes said: 'I swear by Allah that Muhammad is aided with victory from the invisible world, because no favour is withheld from him. His speaker is more eloquent than ours, and his poet is more accomplished than ours.' The people of Tamym repented, became obedient, and the caskets of their hearts were illuminated by the light of guidance, and the blessed verse, '[As to] those who call unto Thee from without the inner apartments the greater part of them do not understand [the respect due to Thee],'[390] was revealed with reference to them. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said to Qays B. A'assum: 'This is the prince of the desert;' presented those people with abundant gifts, and liberated their captives.

One of the events of this year was that his lordship the best of men sent A'li B. Abu Ttâleb with one hundred troopers to the tribe Bani Ttây to destroy the idol-temple of Falas, which was in their country. The companions attended the stirrups of this exalted personage, started, and reached one morning the Ttây tribe without the cognizance of the latter. They began the work of plunder and demolition by burning the temple and razing it. The professors of Islam obtained much booty, as well as a great number of camels; but Hâttim Ttay, the chief of the people, who is so well known that he need not be described in this place, fled and took refuge in Syria. After A'li the Commander of the Faithful had separated one-fifth of the spoils, he distributed the remainder among the glorious companions. The daughter, however, of Hâttim, who was a beautiful woman, he did not allot to anyone, but conveyed to Madinah, and kept her in the house where it was

[390] Qurân, ch. xlix. 4.

customary to lodge prisoners. One day, when his holy and prophetic lordship was walking to the mosque, the daughter of Hâttim stepped out from the house, accosted him on the road, and said: 'O apostle of God, my father has perished, and my protector has disappeared. Have mercy on me, and God will have mercy on thee.' The apostle of God asked: 'Who is thy protector?' She said: 'My brother A'dy.' He rejoined: 'That man is a fugitive from Allah and from His prophet. Having uttered these words, he hastened to his destination. Next day, when his lordship passed by, the daughter of Hattim reiterated her petition, but received the same answer. The third day, when he passed near the door of that house, the daughter of Hättim advanced, in spite of her despair and hopeless condition, saying: 'O apostle of Allah, I am the daughter of the prince and chief of my tribe. My father has departed to the eternal world, and my brother has fled to Syria. Have mercy on me and liberate me, that God the Most High and Glorious may have mercy on thee.' This time her petition was responded to, and his lordship made arrangements for surrendering her to a number of her neighbours on their arrival in Madinah, which actually took place after the expiration of a few days, his lordship investing her with a garment of honour, bestowing on her various benefits, and rejoicing her with many favours, he gave her permission to depart with that company wherever she liked. The daughter of Hättim departed, however, to Syria, where she met A'dy B. Hättim, blamed him in many ways, and related to him her adventures; and when A'dy was discussing with his sister the propriety of meeting his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—she replied: 'Muhammad is either a prophet or a king, and in either case it is incumbent on thee to visit him.' This chief of the Ttày tribe accordingly travelled to Madinah, where he arrived when his lordship happened to be in the mosque. When he entered the former asked him: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'A'dy B. Hattim Ttây.' A mosque, however, not being a fit place to converse with a professor of

idolatry, his lordship rose, returned to his sacred mansion, and was followed by A'dy. On the road a feeble old woman met and stopped the apostle of God, and conversed a long time with him till he satisfied her wishes. When A'dy beheld this great condescension on the part of the seal of prophets—u. w. b.—he said to himself: 'This is a characteristic of prophets and apostles.' After the apostle of God had terminated his conversation with the old woman he walked to his sacred habitation, which he entered, and threw down a bolster of goat-leather stuffed with fibres of the date-tree for A'dy to sit upon, saying: 'Take a seat in this place.' A'dy refrained at first, but complied at last, on account of the entreaties of the apostle of God; and when he to whom the words *Lao lâka*[381] had been addressed took his place on the bare ground A'dy said to himself: 'This act is also not one of kings and sovereigns, but one of the good qualities of prophets and of apostles.' After both had sat down the lord of apostleship said: 'O A'dy, thou hast professed such and such a religion and sect, but hast done such and such an act which is not licit in thy religion and sect.' By these words A'dy was convinced that his lordship was an inspired prophet, and the latter continued: 'O A'dy, perhaps the smallness of the means and the greatness of the necessities of the Musalmâns hinders thee from professing Islâm. I swear by Allah that riches will soon become so plentiful among them that there will be no persons found to take possession of them. Or perhaps the great number of the opponents and the paucity of the professors of Islâm prohibit thee from embracing it? I swear by God that if thy life is prolonged thou wilt see the professors of Islâm very numerous and their enemies very inconsiderable, so that even a woman will be able to mount a camel and to arrive from Qâdesyah to circumambulate the Ka'bah, and will fear no one except God the Most High and His prophet. Or perhaps, because thou seest the power and government in the hands of the foes

[381] This phrase is *Lao lâka mâ Khuliku-ul-aflâka*, and has been already explained. See footnote 37.

of our religion, thou art unwilling to embrace it? I swear by God that the time is at hand when thou wilt hear of the white castles of the country of Babel having been conquered by the Musalmáns.'

It is related of A'dy, that he said: 'After the apostle of God had uttered the above words, he invited me to make a profession of Islâm, whereon I was adorned with the decoration of the Faith, and after the demise of the prophet I lived to see the fulfilment of two of the predictions he had made. One of them was the conquest of the castles, and the other the travelling of a lone woman to Mekkah, and I have no doubt that the third will also be fulfilled.' Let it, however, not remain concealed from the intelligent reader, that A'dy was made happy by kissing the feet of his lordship in the tenth year after the Flight, but for the sake of the context this conversion has been [now] inserted.

One of the events of this year was that during it his holy and prophetic lordship swore an oath that he would, during one month, not have any intercourse or association with his spouses. For this oath various reasons have been assigned, and one of them is as follows: On a certain day the apostle condescended to enter the apartment of Hafssah, the daughter of O'mar B. Alkhattâb, who had, however, on that day, by permission of the apostle of God, left the house on a visit to her father, and the house being empty, his lordship took in his concubine, the Copt Mâryah, and had sexual connection with her. Meanwhile Hafssah returned from her father's house, found the door of the room locked, and was compelled to wait till his lordship opened it and came out. When Hafssah found what had taken place [in her absence] she began to weep, and said: 'O apostle of God, holdest thou sexual connection with a slave-girl in my absence and on my bed?' The prophet, noticing the agony of Hafssah, asked: 'Art thou willing that I should make [intercourse with] Mâryah unlawful to me?' She replied: 'I am willing.' Accordingly his lordship made her society illicit to himself, but ordered Hafssah to keep the matter secret, which she promised to do for the

sake of expediency. But when his lordship the apostle of God went away, she could no longer conceal her joy, and communicated the secret to A'ayshah in the following words: 'O A'ayshah, glad tidings to thee. The prophet will henceforth abstain from having intercourse with the Coptic slave-girl.' Accordingly, when A'ayshah was made happy by waiting on his holy and prophetic lordship, she said to him ironically: 'O apostle of God, have intercourse with the Coptic slave-girl during my turn, so that the time of thy other wives may not be taken up with her.' Meanwhile Jebrâil descended with the verses of the Chapter of Prohibition,[382] in consequence whereof his lordship said to Hafssah: 'Have not I told thee not to reveal this secret to anyone, and not to divulge it?' Hafssah asked: 'Who has informed thee of this?' His lordship rejoined: 'The omniscient and all-seeing God.'[383] As he had, on account of the above event, been reproached by several of his wives, he was displeased, and refrained from associating also with the others during one month, in order to punish them all. Another cause for this proceeding was that the mothers of the Faithful [*i.e.*, the wives of Muhammad] had asked his lordship the apostle of the Lord of the universe for various sums of money to purchase garments which could not be easily procured, and in proof of this [disagreement between the prophet and his wives] it may be adduced that one day Abu Bakr Ssiddyq arrived at the door of the holy and prophetic mansion, where he perceived a number of the companions sitting, none of whom had obtained the felicity of an interview [with the prophet]. Ssiddyq, however, obtained admission, and O'mar B. Alkhattáb, who had after him reached the door of the august chamber, was likewise admitted to the honour of kissing the hands of his lordship. On that occasion grief and pain had so overpowered

[382] Quran, ch. lxvi. bears this title.

[383] *Ibid.*, v 3. 'When the prophet entrusted as a secret unto one of his wives a certain accident, and when she disclosed the same and Allah made it known unto him; and when he had acquainted her therewith, she said: 'Who hath discovered this unto thee?' He answered: 'The knowing the sagacious Allah hath discovered [it] unto me.'

the most noble mind of the favourite of Allah the Most High, on account of the various claims of his wives who were the mothers of the Musalmâns, that he spoke to no one. Fârûq, who knew the state of the matter and desired to make his lordship laugh, therefore said: 'O apostle of God, recently my wife, the daughter of Kharejah, asked me for some money, whereon I rose and struck her on the neck; and I wish thou hadst beheld the scene.' The apostle of God smiled at the words of O'mar and said: 'My wives are on my neck. They ask for money, and want things which I do not possess.' These words so excited Saiddyq Akbar that he rose and struck the neck of [his daughter] A'ayshah with his fist, and Fârûq, imitating him, gave also a blow to his own daughter, Hafssah, both reproving their daughters in the following strain: 'Are you asking from the apostle of God things which he does not possess?' Hereon A'ayshah and Hafssah swore an oath that they would never ask the prophet for anything he did not possess. Nevertheless, as his wives troubled him more than he could endure, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—separated himself from them, sojourned one month in the upper room of his mosque, keeping at the door a slave, Ryâh by name, whom he ordered to admit no one without permission. When the news had spread in Madinah that the prophet had divorced his wives, every one of the companions who heard it visited the mosque.

It is related of Fârûq that he said: 'When I heard this rumour I hastened to the mosque, where I beheld a number of the companions seated near the pulpit and weeping. I remained with them for a while, but deep grief overpowered me, so I got up, went to the room of the mosque, and asked Ryâh to procure me an interview [with the prophet]. He attempted to do so several times, but in vain, and received no answer. I therefore said in a loud voice: "Ryâh, I believe the apostle of God thinks I have come to intercede for the crime of Hafssah. I swear by God that if he tells me to strike off her head I shall not disobey his orders!"

Saying these words, I departed, but suddenly heard Ryâh exclaiming: "O'mar, come; thou hast obtained admittance." I then returned, entered, saluted him, and said before taking a seat: "O apostle of God, hast thou divorced thy wives?" He replied: "No," whereon I uttered the *Takbyr* in a loud voice.' Solmah says: 'When the sound of the *Takbyr* reached our house, we knew what he had said to the apostle of God, and what answer he had received.'

In short, after twenty-nine days had elapsed since the departure of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—he left the room of the mosque and entered the house of A'ayshah, who met that prince, saying: 'O apostle of God, thou hast sworn an oath that thou wilt not return to us before a month has elapsed, but since the time of thy departure only twenty-nine days have as yet expired.' His lordship replied: 'Sometimes a month has twenty-nine days.' The writer of these pages observes that this matter has also been recorded in other ways in voluminous books.

During this year the lapidation of Sabya'h A'ameryah took place, which happened as follows: Three years before the just-mentioned date an A'ameryah woman made in the august assembly of his holy and prophetic lordship—u w. b.—a confession of having committed adultery, and requested him to judge her according to the religion, to purify her from her sin. His lordship answered: 'Return; pray to Allah for pardon, and trust to His mercy if you sincerely repent.' Sabya'h continued: 'O apostle of God, desirest thou to turn me away as thou hast sent away such-and-such a woman, seeing that I am pregnant from adultery?' He asked: 'Art thou with child from adultery?' She said: 'Yes.' His lordship continued: 'Wait till the delivery takes place.' She was thereon given in charge of one of the Anssâr till she gave birth to a child. When that event had taken place it was reported to the apostle of God—u. w. b.—who said: 'We cannot stone her now, considering that her infant is young, and there is no one to suckle it.' Some time afterwards Sabya'h weaned the child,

put a piece of bread into its hand, brought it thus into the august assembly, and requested the law of the religion to be put in force. His lordship then gave the child of Sabya h to a Musalmân, and ordered her to be placed into a pit up to the breast, whereon he gave the signal for lapidation. Khâled B. Alwolyd thereon approached Sabya'h in front, and struck her with a stone; but some drops from the wound thus inflicted having touched his face, Khâled cursed her. His lordship, however, quieted him, and said: 'I swear by that God in the power of Whose grasp my soul is, that Sabya'h has repented; and that if the Tamghâchy[384] had done this penance he would have been forgiven.' When the bird of the soul of Sabya'h flew to the gardens of paradise, the cage of her body was, by order of the lord of termination, prayed over and buried in another spot.

Ghazwah of Tabuk.

Some have alleged that Tabuk is the name of a place between Hajar and the first limits of Syria; others, however, insist that it is the name of a fort; whilst others maintain that it is the name of a fountain, and that the army of Islâm having terminated its march in that locality, the campaign became known by the name of the Ghazwah of Tabuk. The reason for undertaking this expedition was because a caravan had arrived in Madinah from Syria, bringing from that country oil and flour, as also the news that the Governor of Greece and ruler of that country had collected an army so numerous that the plains and mountains could scarcely hold it; that many Christians and Arabs had joined the [Byzantine] Greeks, and that they were all marching to Madinah.

In the *Raudzatu-l-ahbab* it is recorded that biographers—Allah have mercy on them!—give the following reason for the Ghazwah of Tabuk: At that time a caravan had arrived from Syria with oil and white flour, bringing also the information that the Emperor of Greece, having

[384] This word does not occur in dictionaries, but probably stands for Satan.

collected a large army, which was joined by the Arabs of Najd, Hazân, Ghasân, and other tribes, was marching to Madinah, and had already reached Bulqâr. According to another tradition, the Christian Arabs had written to [the emperor] Heraclius to the following effect: 'The country of the man who pretends to be a prophet has been overtaken by famine and dearth, the possessions of his adherents are destroyed, and his country might be easily taken.' Accordingly he [*i.e.*, Heraclius] appointed one of the Greek chiefs, named Qobâd, with an army of forty thousand men to conquer Madinah. There is a tradition, that when this information was communicated to the prophet—u. w. b.—a Jew said: 'O father of Qâsim, if thou art really a prophet, thou must go to Syria, because it is the country of the resurrection and of the prophets.' At any rate, however, the lord of apostleship [whether he intended to act according to this advice or not] ordered his companions to get ready for a march against the Greeks, and sent circulars round to the tribes, who had attained the honour of professing Islâm, to be ready. His lordship, however, was always in the habit of keeping the destination of the army secret, lest the enemy might obtain information; but he made an exception in the Ghazwah of Tabuk, which he proclaimed, because the distance was great, the heat intense, the foes numerous, and provisions scarce, so that, considering all these circumstances, the people might come fully prepared. For this reason the army was called 'the host of trouble,'[385] and historians, biographers, commentators, etc., narrate that the distress was so great that ten men had but one camel, which they rode by turns; the majority of the soldiers had no other provisions except old broken dates, barley full of weevils, and rancid grease. On that march water was so scarce that, despite the paucity of quadrupeds, the people were obliged to slaughter camels to moisten their lips with the water they obtained from them. The men had even been unwilling to start from Madinah, because the season

[385] Or, 'The distressed army.'

of the maturity of their dates was just approaching, and they desired to repose in the shade and to enjoy their fruits. Here ends the extract from the *Raudzatu-l-áhbáb*, which, according to the opinion of the author of these pages, contains numerous misstatements, the most flagrant whereof is that, according to which his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—disregarded the heat, the calamity of the famine, the scarcity of water, the dearth of provisions, and the unwillingness of his companions. and had undertaken this expedition solely on account of what the Jews told him, and had again returned from Tabuk without entering Syria. Therefore intelligent and learned persons will do well to omit that tradition from their statements and not to copy it. Greeting to him who follows [Divine] guidance.

In short, when the august decision to march on an expedition to Syria had become a fixed determination with the lord of existences—u. w. b.—he sent Borydah B. Alkadzyb to the Bani Salym to collect troops; he despatched Abu Dhar Ghuffáry to the Bani Ghuffár, and in the same manner he caused others of his companions to depart to their tribes for the same purpose. After that he appointed some companions to provide for the destitute warriors of the glorious army, and they assisted them according to their power. Abu Bakr, however, excelled all the other benefactors of the nation by spending his whole property for the sake of the religion of God; and O'mar B. Alkhattab considered himself happy to surrender one moiety of everything he possessed. It is related that when the apostle of God ascended the pulpit and invited the rich to aid in fitting out the Arab army and relieving the poor, he referred them to the rewards of the next world. O'thman B. O'ffan, who was distinguished by his opulence among the glorious companions, arose and agreed to present one hundred camels, laden with provisions, to the destitute portion of the army. When his holy and prophetic lordship repeated his exhortation, O'thmân added one hundred camels more, which number he augmented at the third

invitation to three hundred. Some biographers have narrated that the same benefactor added one thousand mithqâls of pure gold to the camels; others, however, assert that he engaged himself to provide for one third of the army, the whole of which amounted to thirty thousand men. Then his lordship the best of men said: 'Hereafter O'thmân will never feel the want of property for what it has now effected.' In some books we read that when O'thmân brought the thousand mithqals of gold into the joyous assembly of the apostle of God, his lordship said: 'O God, be pleased with O'thmân B. O'ffân, for I am pleased with him.'

There is a tradition that A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf had brought a sum of four thousand dirhems to the apostle of God, and said: 'I possessed eight thousand dirhems, and I have brought one half of that sum, wishing to gain the approbation of Allah, but the other moiety I have left for the use of my family and children.' His lordship replied, with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'May the Most High bless thee for what thou hast given, and for what thou hast retained.' This wish of the apostle—u. w. b.—was responded to, and the wealth of that man became so great, that when he departed from the perishable to the imperishable world, each of the four wives whom he left after his death received eighty thousand mithqâls of gold for her share when the time of mourning had elapsed. All the noble Anssâr and Mohâjer also disbursed large sums of money, and many ladies parted with their trinkets and ornaments to fit out the army. When all the troops were in readiness, his holy and prophetic lordship assembled and reviewed them outside of Madinah, in the place called Thânyâtu-l-wodâa', on which occasion he appointed Abu Bakr to be Commander-in-chief and Emâm of the army, which, however, a number of hypocrites, and also three Musalmâns, refused to join.

It is related that A'bdullah B. Abu Salul, the hypocrite, came out from Madinah with his confederates and encamped at Dhabûb, but again returned with a number of hypocrites

and Jews as soon as his holy and prophetic lordship had marched away from Thanyâtu-l-wodâa', and said: 'Muhammad has gone to fight the Greeks, and thinks it will be an easy matter; but I swear by God that I am of opinion that his companions will be scattered about the world as prisoners, dragging their yokes and fetters.' When the retreat of A'bdullah had been brought to the august notice of his holy and prophetic lordship, he said: 'Had he been knowing, he would not have stayed away from us.' Another company of hypocrites associated with the army in that campaign for the sake of plunder; but with reference to their arrival and return unfavourable reports became current, which shall be narrated if it pleaseth God the Most High. It is related that when the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—marched from Madinah he left A'li B. Abu Ttaleb there to watch over the mothers of the Musalmâns; but as the hypocrites of that city had said, 'Muhammad has not taken A'li with him, because he is on bad terms with him,' the Commander of the Faithful went after his lordship as soon as he had heard the gossip of the hypocrites and heretics, and obtained the felicity of an interview in the place called Jarf, where he explained what had taken place, and wished to participate in that campaign, but his lordship replied: 'O A'li, art thou willing to stand in the same relation to me as Harûn [Aaron] stood to Musa [Moses], only that there will be no other prophet after me?'

It is certain that in Thânyâtu-l-wodaa' the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—distributed the standards, and conferred the great banner on Abu Bakr Ssiddyq, another on Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm, and another on Awus. The flags of the Khazraj he bestowed on Asad B. Alkhattyr and on Abu Dujâjah the Anssary. When the army was reviewed in that locality it was found to amount to thirty thousand men, as mentioned above. Some allege that it consisted of eighty, and a few assert that it numbered one hundred thousand combatants, ten thousand of whom were mounted on horses, and that they had twelve thousand camels with them. In

this expedition Khâled B. Alwolyd commanded the vanguard, Abu Jaud Ttolhah B. A'bdullah the right, and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf the left wing. After the army had started from Thânyâtu-l-wodâa', a number of soldiers deserted in every halting-place,' so that the friends and companions used to say, 'Such-and-such a man has returned;' but that prince replied: 'Do not mind him. If there be any good in him, the Most High will probably cause him to join you again; but if not, Allah has shown you a favour by delivering you of his company.'

When the army had marched the required distance it arrived at Tabuk, where it halted two months by order of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—resting from the toil and fatigue of the evening and morning [marches]. Meanwhile it became evident that the rumours current in Madinah about the intention of the Greeks to attack the professors of Islâm had no foundation whatever; nor could the least sign of the Qayssar or of the Greek army be perceived. Accordingly his lordship the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b.—consulted the chief Anssâr and Mohâjer about invading Syria and attacking the inhabitants thereof; and among the companions O'mar B. Alkhattâb rose, saying: 'O apostle of God, if thou orderest us to proceed in that direction we shall obey, because we are all in attendance on thy heaven-aspiring stirrup.' His lordship replied: 'If I had received [Divine] orders I would not have consulted you.' O'mar continued: 'O apostle of Allah, the Emperor of Greece has great armies, numerous as locusts, provided with all the appliances of war, and they are assembled in the shadow of his sovereign power. There is not a single Musalmân among them; thou hast this year arrived near them; the rumour of thy power and dignity must have spread in that country, so that fear and trepidation have overpowered the Greeks. Nevertheless, if thou returnest this time and undertakest the war next year, it will be more suitable.' This opinion of Farûq the greater being in conformity with that of the prophet, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—concluded to march back to Madinah.

It is related that when Heraclius, the Byzantine emperor, heard that the apostle of God had arrived in Syria and was encamped in Tabuk, he appointed a man of the Bani Ghusân to pay a visit to the camp of the Musalmâns and to bring information about the qualities and characteristics of the lord of prophecy—u. w. b.—such as the redness of his eyes, the seal of prophecy, the giving and receiving of alms, and the like. The man obeyed, went to Tabuk, and returned to Heraclius after having made full inquiries, and described to the Qayssar all the properties and circumstances of the apostle of God. Heraclius thereon assembled the nobles and magnates of Greece, and ordered them to abandon Christianity and to embrace the sublime religion; but the Greeks were so amazed at the words of the Qayssar that they feared his sovereignty was drawing to an end; therefore he no longer pressed his views upon them, but secretly made his profession of the Faith, and was blessed with felicity in both worlds.

Khâled B. Alwolyd goes to Daumatu-j-jandal.

At the time his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was staying in Tabuk he ordered Khâled B. Alwolyd to march with four hundred and twenty troopers against Akydar B. A'bdu-l-melik, the governor of Daumatu-j-jandal, and Khâled replied: 'O apostle of God, sendest thou me among the Bani Kallâb with a few companions?' That prince, however, replied with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'Thou wilt probably soon capture Akydar in the hunting ground without the toil of war.' Khâled accordingly obeyed, and marched to the fort of Daumatu-j-jandal, and arrived one night in a fine moonshine in the vicinity of the fort of Akydar, who happened at that time to be engaged on the top of it in eating and drinking wine with his spouse. On that occasion a [wild] mountain-cow happened to arrive near the gate of the fort, which it commenced to butt against with her horns. The lady, whose name was Rabâb, approached the margin of the platform, and perceiving what was going on beneath, she said to her

husband: 'Hast thou ever beheld such a sight?' He replied: 'No.' Rabâb further asked: 'Hast thou ever allowed such game to escape?' He said: 'No.' Then Akydar, being very fond of hunting mountain-cows, came down from the terrace of the kiosk, and ordered a horse fit to pursue the cow to be saddled, whereon he departed with his brother and several other men to chase the mountain-cow. Not aware that he was about to fall into the hands of Khâled, and into the grasp of the hunter of fate, Akydar left the fort, and the cow fled, he pursuing her on horseback. Khâled, however, who had been watching his opportunity, attacked and captured Akydar, whose companions ran away and took shelter in the fort, which Modzbâr, another brother of Akydar, then put in a state of defence.

As his holy and prophetic lordship—may Allah bless him and his family—had ordered Khâled to bring Akydar alive in case he should capture him, unless he refused, Khâled said to him: 'If thou art willing, I grant thee thy life, and shall convey thee to his lordship the refuge of prophecy on condition that thy people deliver the keys of the fort to me and open the gate thereof, and that thou surrenderest to me one thousand camels, eight hundred horses, four hundred spears, and four hundred cuirasses, whereon I shall allow thee to retain thy fort as before.' Akydar complied with the proposal of Khâled. His brother first refused, but at last opened the gate of the fort, and both brothers hastened, in the company of Khâled, to kiss the feet of the Lord of apostleship—m. A. b., etc.—According to one tradition, the brothers attained the felicity of professing the Faith as soon as they had arrived in Madinah, but according to another, that prince settled the poll-tax[380] upon them, and allowed them to depart. But Allah knows best.

[380] This is the *Jazyah* paid by Christians, Jews, etc., in Musalmân countries.

The Events which took place during the Expedition of Tabuk, and other Affairs.

It is recorded in biographical works that Dharva'h B. Thâbet, and a number of men who were as great hypocrites as himself, waited during the march one day on the apostle of God—m. A. b., etc.—and conversed [in secret] among themselves as follows: 'Just see, this man wants to conquer the forts and districts of the country of Syria, which is not very likely to happen.' Then Ashja'yi, who was among them, said: 'I swear by God that I should like each of us to receive one hundred lashes as a punishment for this opinion, and that some verses of the Qurân might be revealed with reference to us, and to our wicked conversation.' Meanwhile the prince of existences had been divinely informed from the invisible world concerning the blamable sentiments of the hypocrites, and said to O'mmâr Yâser: 'Save that company, for they are burning; ask them what they have just now said, and if they deny it, inform them of the words they have uttered.' O'mmâr obeyed, and reported to those men what his holy and prophetic lordship had said, whereon they became confused and ashamed. They went to the apostle of God, begged his pardon, and Dharya'h B. Thâbet pretended that they had spoken in fun only. Hereon the blessed verse, 'If you ask them, they will answer: We have been joking and playing. Say: You have derided Allah and His prophet,'[387] was revealed. It is related that Mohsan was among the number of those whom he [*i.e.*, the prophet] forgave, and that he prayed to God to allow him to attain the honour of martyrdom, and that his grave should remain unknown. The arrow of this petition struck the target of response, for Mohsan was killed in the battle of Yamâmah, and his body was not found afterwards.

Another wonderful event [in the campaign of Tabuk] was that when the army of Islâm, who attended on the heaven-aspiring stirrups of his lordship the master of

[387] Qurân, ch. ix. 66.

existences—u. w. b.—arrived in Wady-l-qara, and halted near the cave [*lit.* chamber] of Thamûd, that prince forbade the people to drink the water of that locality, or to perform therewith the religious ablution, and ordered them to tie up the knees of the camels. All the Musalmâns obeyed, except one individual of the Bani Sua'dah, who had gone away to answer a call of nature, and another of the same tribe who had left his tent and departed in search of a stray camel. The first suffered from suffocation, and the second was thrown by the wind on mount Ttáy; whilst during that night the wind was blowing hard, the man who suffered from suffocation [asthma ?] was conveyed into the miracle-working presence of the best of men, and in consequence of the orisons of that prince, God the Most High and Glorious delivered him of his complaint. When the apostle of God—u w. b.—had returned to Madinah, the owner of the camel was, by the [people of Mount] Ttây brought there as a present.

Another miracle was that when the Musalmâns had passed Hajar, and were complaining to his lordship that they had no water, he turned his face towards the Qibla of prayer, lifted up his blessed hands, whereon in that clear atmosphere and hot weather clouds made their appearance in various directions and having united with each other poured forth water enough to slake the thirst of all the companions and to fill all the water-bags. On account of his great joy and gladness the apostle shouted the *Takby*, whereon the clouds again vanished, the sun appeared, and that prince exclaimed: 'I testify that I am the apostle of Allah.' It is related that on this occasion the Musalmân said to a man who was a noted hypocrite: 'Come, make sincere profession of the Faith, for now thou hast no excuse That shameless fellow, however, replied: 'Is there anything extraordinary in a cloud passing and raining?'

Another miracle was that the camel of the apostle of God had been lost in a certain halting-place, and then when some companions searched for it in the desert they met a Jew of the Bani Qaynuqaa', who had become

hypocrite after professing Islâm, and whose name was Zayd. In this halting-place O'mmârah B. Hozâm, who was a native of A'qâbah, and had been present at Bedr, said: 'How is it that Muhammad gives news about heaven, and says that he is a prophet, but knows not where his she-camel is?' That very moment the prince of the children of Adam was by the light of prophecy informed of the above words, repeated them in his august assembly, and said to O'mmârah: 'By Allah, I know only that of which God the Most High informs me. Now God has revealed to me where my camel is. Go to such and such a Wâdy, for my camel is there, and its bridle is fixed to a tree.' Several companions accordingly went to that Wâdy, and discovered the she-camel in the position described by his lordship. When O'mmârah returned to his dwelling, he narrated the event to the people of the station, and one of them said: 'Before thy arrival Zayd had spoken such and such words [reviling the prophet].' Hereon O'mmârah immediately struck Zayd with his fist, and exclaimed: 'I was not aware that there was such a great calamity and wickedness in my house.' After that he expelled Zayd from his habitation and no more associated with him.

Another miracle was that during this march his holy and prophetic lordship said one day: 'To-morrow we shall reach the spring of Tabuk, but no one must touch the water thereof.' Mu'adhar—A. r. h.—says: 'The next day we arrived there in the forenoon, but two men had preceded us, had drunk, and had thereby caused the water to disappear. His lordship asked them: "Have you touched the water?" They said: "Yes." Therefore the prophet—u. w. b.—reproved these two individuals and cursed them. After that he ordered a little water to be taken from the spring, and to be put into a vessel, in which he washed his glorious hands and mouth. Then he poured the water back into the spring, and the water, which had been extremely scanty before, became very copious by this proceeding, so that the thirst of the whole army was slaked therewith.'

Another miracle was the prediction uttered with reference to Abu Dhar Ghuffâry, which happened as follows: This man had departed to Tabuk after his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—but as his camel became disabled on the road, he took his luggage on his back and continued the journey. When the apostle of God was halting in the station of Tabuk, Abu Dhar having been perceived at a distance, the companions reported that they had seen him approaching, whereon the apostle of God said: 'This is Abu Dhar.' When he had come nearer, [also] the companions recognised him, and exclaimed: 'We swear by God that this is Abu Dhar.' On his entering the assembly, that prince rose, welcomed him and said: 'May God the Most High have mercy on Abu Dhar, because he lives alone, will die alone, and will be buried alone.' Then he inquired about the circumstances of Abu Dhar, who stated the reason of his tardy arrival. It is related that O'thmân sent, during the time of his Khalifate, Abu Dhar away from Madinah to Ryza—for a purpose which shall be related in these pages if it pleaseth Allah the Most High—where he lived alone, isolated and separated from his friends, until he was overtaken by a mortal disease, having no one with him except his wife and slave. He said to them: 'When you have washed and shrouded my corpse, place it in a coffin on the public road, and say to the first company of camel-riders who shall happen to pass: "This is Abu Dhar, the companion of the apostle of God," whereon they will aid you to bury me.' His wife and slave obeyed his injunction, and the first company which passed the spot was one of Musalmans, with A'bdullah B. Masu'd —u. w. b.—and a number of persons from E'râq, who were going on pilgrimage to Mekkah. A'bdullah asked about the bier, wept sore on being informed, and said: 'The apostle of God has spoken the truth that thou wilt live alone, die alone, and be buried alone.' Thereon some respectable men alighted from their camels and interred him. May God bless them all.

Another miracle was the prediction uttered with refer-

ence to A'bdullah Dhu Abajâdyn, who was an orphan boy possessing no worldly goods, but was taken care of by his uncle, who lived in Hajar. When he grew up he became a possessor of camels, sheep, as well as of male and female slaves. In the time of ignorance he was called A'bdu-l-u'zza, but was always very desirous to pronounce the formula of monotheism, and to be enrolled among the attendants on the exalted threshold of prophecy. The fear, however, of his uncle, who was an obstinate idolater, restrained him a long time [from carrying out his intention], but he waited patiently; and when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had terminated the campaign of Honayn and had again returned to Madinah, A'bdullah said to his uncle: 'I have for a long time been expecting thee to make a profession of Islâm, but have hitherto perceived no signs of it. I for my part have no confidence in this perishable life, and I hope thou wilt allow me to utter the formula of the testimony, and to illuminate the casket of my heart with the light of monotheism.' His uncle, however, replied: 'I swear by God that if thou becomest a Musalmân and followest Muhammad, I shall take back everything I gave thee, and even deprive thee of thy *Redâ* and thy *Izâr*, and turn thee away naked.' Dhu Abajâdyn said: 'By Allah! I have abandoned idolatry, and I am going to be a Musalmân. I shall believe in Allah and His prophet, renouncing all worldly possessions, which we must at last abandon by compulsion. Take all my goods and chattels.' After saying these words A'bdullah gave up all his property, threw away his *Redâ* and his *Izâr* from his body, and went naked to the house of his mother, to whom he revealed his anxiety to embrace Islâm, and asked for clothes. His mother gave him a striped carpet named Abajâ, which A'bdullah divided in twain, using one half as a *Redâ* and the other as an *Izâr*. Thus he turned his steps, with the purest and sincerest motives, to the threshold of his lordship the Musstafa, and took rest in the mosque of the apostle of God. When his lordship had

terminated his prayers he conversed as usual with the people, and, his joy-boding eyes alighting on A'bdullah, he asked him: 'Who art thou?' He replied: 'I am called A'bdu-l-u'zza, of such and such a tribe.' His lordship replied: 'Thy name will be Dhu Abajâdyn. Lodge with us.' Accordingly A'bdullah became a guest of that prince, and began to study the Qurân, which he used to recite in the mosque with a loud voice. One day O'mar B. Alkhattâb said: 'O apostle of God, this Arab is reciting the Qurân aloud, and disturbs the readings and devotions of the people.' But the prophet said: 'Let him, O'mar, for he has come out as a confederate and exile for the sake of God and of His apostle.' At the time when the Musalmâns were making preparations for the Ghazwah of Tabuk, A'bdullah entered the august assembly, and said: 'O apostle of God, pray that I may become a martyr by fighting for the religion of God.' His lordship said: 'Go and bring a piece of bark.' Thereon A'bdullah fetched a piece of bark from a date-tree, which the apostle tied to the arm of A'bdullah, saying: 'O God Most High, I make his blood illicit to the infidels.' A'bdullah said: 'O apostle of God, that was not my request.' His holy and prophetic lordship continued: 'When thou marchest forth with the intention of combating for the religion of God the Most High, thou wilt become affected with a febrile distemper, which will take thee out of this world, and thus make thee a martyr.' Accordingly, when A'bdullah proceeded in attendance on the heaven-aspiring stirrups of his lordship the apostle to Tabuk, and the army, arriving there, rested itself, he was attacked by fever, and died in a couple of days. On the day of his interment Ballâl the Muedhdhin held a lamp in his hand, the lord of existences stepped into the grave, and Ssiddyq with Fârûq lowered the corpse into it. After A'bdullah had been buried his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—said: 'O God, I was pleased with him this night; be Thou also pleased with him.' A'bdullah B. Masu'd, having heard these words, said: 'Would to God I were the tenant of this grave.'

The author of this work says that the manifest signs and great miracles worked by his holy and prophetic lordship — u. w. b. — during the Ghazwah of Tabuk were so numerous that this compendium cannot contain them, but that whoever may be desirous of becoming acquainted with them all ought to peruse biographical works.

Sariahs to the Wâdy-urraml.[388]

It is recorded in the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* that a man came to the apostle of God after the Ghazwah of Tabuk, and reported that an Arab tribe had assembled in the Wády-urraml, with the intention of making a night attack on Madinah. The prophet hereon immediately ordered the companions to assemble, informed them of the case, and asked: 'Who of you will ward off this wicked attempt?' Then a number of the illustrious companions, as well as others, immediately expressed their pleasure at the news, and his lordship the best of men gave the flag to Ssiddyq, appointing him commander of the expedition which was to march against the enemy, who was in a low country, full of stones and trees, difficult of access. In short, Ssiddyq marched against the enemy according to the orders he had received, and reached the Wâdy after duly traversing the distance, but when he was entering it the hypocrites rushed out, armed with swords and lances, attacked the Musalmans, some of whom attained the honour of martyrdom, and the rest fled back to Madinah. When the apostle of God was informed [of this defeat] he made a banner, gave it to Fârûq, and appointed him over a number of Musalmâns, whom he sent to avenge themselves on the professors of opposition and heresy. O'mar then hastened to his destination, and on his attempting to penetrate into the valley, the idolaters rushed out from among the rocks and trees, where they had lain in ambush, and attacked the Musalmáns, who fled after some resistance [again] to Madinah. After this event A'mru B. Ala'ass, who was

[388] Meaning 'Forays'—in which Muhammad was not present—'to the Wady of Sand.'

distinguished for cunning and deceit, spoke as follows: 'O apostle of God, send me against them, that I may deal with them according to the proverb, "Stratagem is necessary in war," and that I may deceive the enemies.' His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—complied with his request, appointed him over a company of Musalmâns, and sent him against the opponents; but, on coming in contact with them, some Musalmâns attained martyrdom, and the rest were [again] put to flight. Several days after the return of A'mru B. Ala'ass, his lordship prepared a standard for A'li the Commander of the Faithful, lifted up his hands to heaven, and poured forth his orisons for A'li with his wonderfully eloquent tongue. He also condescended to accompany A'li—u. w. b.—as far as the mosque Ahzâb, ordering Ssiddyq, Fârûq, and A'mru B. Ala'ass to follow and to obey him. Ali Murtadza—u. w. b.—feigned to march towards Arabian E'raq, and passed by the Wâdy-urraml; but after he had marched several stages he determined to attack the enemy, and hastened to his destination by a route which debouched into the Wâdy. He marched during the night, and rested his men in the day aside from the road. When he had reached the neighbourhood of the habitations of the opponents, he ordered his forces to advance slowly, taking himself the lead in front. When A'mru B. Ala'ass perceived that the stratagems of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—were likely to be crowned with success and victory, he intended to discomfit the expedition by speaking as follows to Farûq and to Ssiddyq: 'In this route there are dangers to be apprehended from wild animals and rapacious beasts, wherefore it will be proper for us to make a night-attack upon the enemy from the upper part of the Wady.' The two old men communicated this proposal to A'li Murtadza—u. w. b. —but he rejected it. A'mru B. Ala'ass therefore said: 'O Musalmâns, we cannot jeopardize our lives. Come, let us march in the higher portions of the Wâdy.' The army of Islam, however, replied: 'The prophet—u. w. b.—having forbidden us to disobey A'li—u. w. b.—how can we listen

to thy words and act according to them?' A'li—u. w. b. — considered the opinion of A'mru to be erroneous, and continued his march as before, till he arrived at the dawn of day in sight of the opponents, on whom he avenged himself according to his heart's desire. The author of the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* maintains that on this occasion the chapter 'The war-horses which run swiftly'[389] was revealed, and that his lordship the apostle—u. w. b—informed his companions of the glad tidings of the victory. When A'li—u. w. b.—returned and arrived in the vicinity of Madinah, his lordship ordered his companions to meet Hayder [*i.e.*, A'li] the Commander of the Faithful in solemn procession, and preceded them himself at a short distance, and as soon as the blessed eye of the receptacle of sovereignty alighted on the joy-bringing countenance of the owner of prophecy he alighted from his horse, but that prince said: 'Mount, O A'li, for God and the apostle of God are pleased with thee.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful began to weep for joy, and the apostle of Allah said: 'Had I not been apprehensive of the people saying of thee what they have said with reference to the Masyh [Messiah], namely, I'sa [Jesus], the son of Maryam, I would have uttered words, in consequence whereof thou wouldest not have passed near any company, but they would have picked up the earth from under thy feet.'

The Arrival of the Wofûd.[390]

During this year [*i.e.*, the ninth year after the Flight] when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had returned from Tabuk, crowds upon crowds arrived from the various Arab tribes, were blessed by making a profession of the Faith, and made happy by meeting the apostle of God. The numbers of those persons amounted to such multitudes that this year was surnamed 'the year of the Wofûd.' It was the custom of his lordship the apostle, on the arrival

[389] This is the title of Surah C. of the Qurân.
[390] *Wofûd* is the plural of *Wofod*, and means arrivals, comings, and figuratively deputations.

of each Wofod, to don nice robes, to order his companions to dress in clean clothes, and to adorn themselves with costly garments. He also ordered the Wofûd to be accommodated in good and clean houses, and to be entertained in the most hospitable manner. On their departure they were presented with gifts and provisions, so that they returned to their countries and dwelling-places full of joy and gratitude.

Among the number of the Wofûd, who were during this year admitted to the felicity of the hand-kiss, was also the Wofod of the Bani Murrah, which took place as follows: Thirteen individuals of the tribe Murrah had arrived together, made a profession of Islâm, and addressed the prophet as follows: 'O apostle of God, we are the kinsmen and relatives of thy people, because we are connected with the district [*lit.*, flag] of the Bani Ghâleb.' His holy and prophetic lordship smiled at this assertion, and asked: 'What is the state of your country?' But as those people suffered from dearth and famine, they requested his lordship to pray for them. His lordship accordingly turned his face towards the Qiblah of petition and said: 'O God, water them with rain!' He then ordered Ballâl to rejoice every one of them with ten Oqyahs of silver, and honoured their chief, whose name was Hareth B. A'wuf, with a gift of twelve Oqyahs of silver. When that company had attained their purpose and returned to their tribe, they learned on inquiry that the very day when the above prayer had been uttered, a beneficent rain had actually fallen in their country.

Another Wofod was that of A'amer B. Ssa'ssa'h, which took place as follows: 'A'amer B. Attafyl B. Malek B. Ja'fer B. Kallâb and Arbad B. Rabya'h or Arbad B. Hatys —according to two different traditions—had arrived during this year with a company of the Bani A'amer in Madinah. But A'amer had previously made an arrangement with Arbad which he expressed in the following words: 'While I engage Muhammad in conversation thou must approach him from the rear, and relieve us of all our apprehensions

by despatching him with thy sword.' When they entered the august assembly, A'amer said: 'O Muhammad, what will be my lot if I become a Musalmân?' His lordship replied: 'That of Musalmans.' A'amer continued: 'Make me thy successor after thy demise.' His lordship said: 'That position cannot be attained by thy nation or tribe.' A'amer continued: 'If thou wilt not comply with my demand, then appoint me to be the commander and governor of the inhabitants of the desert.' But the apostle of God placed the hand of refusal upon the breast of his petition, and said: 'I shall make thee officer and commandant of a detachment of cavalry, and employ thee to fight for the religion of God.' A'amer said: 'I am at present the chief of such a company, and I swear by God that I shall go and collect an army of infantry and cavalry, numerous as locusts, to calculate the number whereof will exceed the powers of imagination, and shall attack thee therewith.' After uttering these words, A'amer departed from the august assembly with Arbad, whom he reproached for having omitted to do what he had promised, but Arbad replied: 'I swear by God that I intended to strike Muhammad with my sword, but thou wast between him and me.' When these two wicked men had gone away, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—cursed them. His prayer met with the honour of response, so that A'amer as well as Arbad were punished for their wicked intentions and evil deeds; the latter was, by a decree of Divine providence, struck dead by lightning; and the former became affected with a gland swelling in his throat. Alighting in a journey at the house of a Salulyah woman, he said to himself: 'This gland is like the gland of the camel of death,' and again departing from the house of the woman, he mounted his horse, but departed to hell whilst on this journey.

Another Wofod was that of the Bani Asad, ten men of whom had arrived in Madinah, had become Musalmâns, and, desiring their merit to become known, said: 'We have started on the journey in a year of famine and distress; we performed the journey without being attacked by foes,

and have arrived in this country by our own free will and choice, and we have embraced Islâm.' With reference to this event, the blessed verse, 'They upbraid thee that they have embraced Islâm; rather Allah upbraideth you that he hath directed you to the Faith if ye speak sincerely,'[301] was revealed.

Another Wofod was that of the Bani Albakâ, wherein also Moa'wiah B. Thòr B. A'bad B. Albakâ, who was one hundred years old, is said to have been present with his son Bashar. Moa'wiah spoke to the world-adorning mind of his holy and prophetic lordship—blessing, etc.—as follows: 'I request thee to place thy auspicious hand on some of the limbs of my son Bashar, who stands to me in the relation of a son to his father, and has treated me very kindly.' That prince accordingly touched his head and face, presented him with several goats, and pronounced a blessing upon them; and it is related that when famine and distress befell the country of the Bani Albaka, the people of Moa'wiah remained free from the affliction thereof.

Another Wofod was that of the *Bani* Najyb, thirteen men of which tribe arrived, bringing the legal alms due for their property and cattle. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—was highly pleased with their arrival, and issued orders for their accommodation in a good place. When they informed his lordship that they had brought their share of the *Dzakât*, he replied: 'Take it back to your country and distribute it among the poor and needy.' They, however, rejoined: 'We have brought only what was over and above the necessities of the poor.' It is related that when the Wofod of the Bani Najyb made inquiries about all the duties and obligations of the religion, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—granted them longer interviews, and was more kind to them than to other people. He also gave them more presents than to others, and asked them: 'Is there any one among you who has not received his gift?' They replied: 'There is a young man,

[301] Qurân, ch. xlix. 17.

inferior in age to all of us, and we have left him in our lodgings to take care of our baggage and cattle.' His lordship said: 'After you have returned to your quarters you must send that youth to me.' They did as they were bidden, and when the young man entered the august assembly, he said: 'O apostle of God, I am one of that company which has just waited on thee. Their necessities and requests have been responded to; please to comply also with my petition.' His lordship asked: 'What is thy request?' The youth continued: 'I swear by God that I have not left my coantry and arrived here with the intention of obtaining worldly goods from thee such as thou hast vouchsafed to bestow upon the others. But my reason for troubling thee is, that thou pray to God the Most High to wash off the volumes of my transgressions with the water of pardon, and to save, by the outpourings of forgiveness, this my body of clay from the fire of hell; also to relieve my heart of all covetousness for mundane possessions, and to make me content with poverty.' When his holy and prophetic lordship--t. b. o. A. o. h. a. o. h. f.—became aware of the high aspirations of this individual more exalted than those of his peers, he uttered the following prayer with his blessed mouth, which was the interpreter of Divine mysteries: 'O God, pardon him, have mercy on him, and cause his riches to dwell in his heart.' Then he presented him with an amount equal to the sum of what all his companions had received; whereon those men returned to their tribe. It is related that during the *Hajjatu-l-wodaa'* [the pilgrimage of valediction] his holy and prophetic lordship —u. w. b.—afterwards [again] met some of those individuals at Mená, inquired about the young man, and they replied: 'O apostle of God, we have never seen nor heard of a man more happy or noble than he, but in the balance of his aspirations the whole world, with all its contents, weighs not more than a gnat.' Though numberless Wofûd had arrived during this year in the honoured city of Madinah, only the above ones have been recorded in this work, lest it should become too prolix. Farewell.

DEATH OF A'BDULLAH B. ABU SALÚL.

In the month Showál of the ninth year after the Flight, A'bdullah B. Abu Salúl the hypocrite fell sick, and died in the month Dhu-l-qa'dah of the same year. While he was sick, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—condescended to visit him, and on his deathbed his lordship said to him: 'I have warned thee not to love the Jews, but thou hast not followed my advice.' A'bdullah replied: 'Though Asa'd B. Zarárah hated them, his enmity to them could not keep off death from him. O apostle of God, this is not the time for recriminations. The moment of my departure is at hand. I request thee to be kind enough to accompany my bier when I die, and to make me a present of a robe wherein to shroud me.' It happened that on this occasion the apostle of God—u. w. b.—had two robes on his body, one of which did not touch it, and which he intended to give to A'bdullah; the latter, however, requested him to present him with the nether one, and his lordship assented. He then said again: 'O apostle of God, I hope thou wilt pray near my bier, and wilt ask God to pardon my sins.' And his lordship agreed. Authors of biographies—A. h. m. o. t.—relate that the apostle of God—u. w. b.—was present when the corpse of Ebn Abu Salúl was being washed and shrouded, conversing with his son, who was a sincere believer. When the bier of A'bdullah was conveyed to a place called Hanáyr, his lordship rose to accompany it, and to pray over the body; O'mar, however, jumped up from his place, taking hold of the skirts of the prophet—u. w. b.—saying: 'O apostle of God, wilt thou pray for him despite his having uttered such-and-such words on a certain day?'[392] His holy and prophetic lordship replied: 'O'mar, let go my skirts.' But O'mar still continuing his solicitations, his lordship said: 'Option has been left to me to pray seventy times for their pardon or not. Had I known that I might obtain pardon for A'bdullah

[392] No doubt the scandalous tale is meant which he had narrated concerning A'ayshah.

by uttering more than seventy prayers, I would do so.' By these words he alluded to the blessed verse, 'Ask forgiveness for them, or do not ask. If thou ask forgiveness for them seventy times, Allah will by no means forgive them.'[393] In fine, the apostle of God prayed for A'bdullah, and he had not yet left the place of prayer when God the Most High revealed the verse, 'Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who shall die, neither stand at his grave,' to the end of the verse,[394] before the corpse of A'bdullah was committed to the earth. In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that after Ebn Abu Salûl had been buried, his lordship went to the grave, ordered the body to be taken out, embraced its head, and threw some of the blessed saliva of his mouth into its mouth. The writer of these pages says that there is a difference between this tradition and another, according to which the verse 'Neither do thou pray over any of them' was revealed before the burial of A'bdullah, although the author of the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* likewise asserts it to have been revealed before the interment. It is related that when the hypocrites saw the humility manifested by Ebn Abu Salûl on his deathbed towards his lordship, a great many of them were blessed by professing the religion. By the perusal of detailed works anyone may ascertain how the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—visited Ebn Abu Salûl, who had no equal in hypocrisy, and what had induced that prince to show him so much kindness and favour.

SSIDDYQ [*i.e.*, ABU BAKR] AND A'LI THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL GO TO THE CITY OF MEKKAH.

During this year Abu Bakr departed, by order of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—to Mekkah, and A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—likewise started after him. The U'lamâ of biographies state that about the end of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah of the ninth year after the Flight the lord of apostleship intended to go on pilgrimage; but as it

[393] Qurân, ch. ix. 81. [394] *Ibid*, 85.

had reached the august hearing of his lordship that the idolaters were in the habit of circumambulating the house of Allah during the season of the pilgrimage in the same manner as in the time of ignorance, and in a state of perfect nudity, he was so disgusted that he felt disinclined to come in contact with them himself, but appointed Ssiddyq Akbar to the command of more than three hundred companions, and ordered him to go to Mekkah in order to teach the people the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and to recite to them the beginning of the Surah *Berát*,[305] as far as forty verses. Abu Bakr accordingly donned the *Ehrám* in the place Dhu-l-hayfah, and started in conformity with the orders he had received. Meanwhile, Jebrâil descended and brought to his lordship information from the Lord of Glory to the following purport: 'No one is to promulge the [Divine] message, except thyself and A'li,' but according to another tradition, 'except thyself or one of thy men.' A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—being in the whole nation and tribe the nearest relative of the apostle of God, his lordship said to him: 'Follow Abu Bakr, and take from him the commencement of the Surah *Berát*, which thou art to recite to the people at the time of the pilgrimage. Inculcate to the crowd also the following four maxims: 1. No person will enter paradise unless adorned with the decoration of the Faith. 2. No person is to encompass the Ka'bah in a state of nudity. 3. After this year no professor of idolatry and aberration shall go on pilgrimage. 4. All infidels and idolaters who have made a truce with God and His prophet, shall abide thereby till the expiration of it, and after that they shall obtain a respite of four months; but if after the expiration of this second period they do not become Musalmâns, it will be licit to take their property and to shed their blood.' Jâber B. 'Abdullah, the Anssâry, who likewise went on pilgrimage with Ssiddyq, says: 'When we arrived in A'rj, and the time for matutinal prayers was at hand, Abu Bakr Ssiddyq

305 This word means 'Declaration of Immunity,' and is the first of ch. ix. of the Qurân.

went forward to lead the devotions; but he had not yet begun them when he heard the noise made by the private camel of the lord of apostleship. He therefore stopped, and said: "This is the voice of the she-camel of his lordship the apostle—u. w. b.—and possibly his lordship has been ordered to go on pilgrimage; let us wait, therefore, and pray with him." After a short time, however, A'li—u. w. b.—arrived, riding on his lordship's camel, and Abu Bakr asked him: "Hast thou arrived as commander, or commanded?" He replied: "I am commanded; but give me the beginning of the Surah *Berât*, because I have been ordered to read those verses to the people, and to inform them of the four maxims." Ssiddyq, therefore, surrendered those verses to him, and then held the prayers.' Jâber continues: 'When we arrived in Mekkah Abu Bakr one day preached a sermon before the *Tarrawiah*,[306] and taught the people the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. A'li got up, read the Surah *Berât* to the multitude, and rehearsed the four maxims. To each succeeding company to which Abu Bakr preached and explained the commandments, A'li likewise delivered his injunctions.' It is related that when A'li informed the people of the four maxims, one man exclaimed: 'If the oaths that have passed between us and thy uncle's son were to be dissolved, I swear that we would follow thee.' But A'li—u. w. b.—replied: 'If I were not afraid to offend the apostle of God, who told me to undertake nothing till I return to him, I would certainly kill thee.' It is related that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—arrived in Mekkah, he drew his sword, and said: 'I swear by God, that no one shall perform the circumambulation naked, or I shall chastise him with the sword.' Then every one who was in a state of nudity dressed himself, and those unwilling to do so abstained from circumambulating the house.

It is related that after Ssiddyq and A'li had terminated their business, they returned to Madinah, and the former asked his lordship: 'What have I done that thou hast

[306] This is the name of the eighth day of the month Dhu-l-hejjah.

prohibited me to read the Surah *Berât*?' He replied: O Abu Bakr, thou hast done nothing to incur blame. Thou hast been my companion in the cave,[307] and thou wilt be my companion when I shall stand on the bank of the lake Kawthar;[308] but Jebrâil had come and said: "No one shall do it except thou, or one belonging to thee."' In the *Aa'lâmu-l-warâ* it is related that A'li overtook Abu Bakr on the road, and that the latter asked him: 'O A'li, what has happened? Perhaps something has been revealed with reference to me?' A'li replied: 'No; but the apostle of God—u. w. b.—has ordered me to take from thee the Surah *Berât*, and to read it to the idolaters.' Hereon Abu Bakr retraced his steps, and spoke to the apostle of God as follows: 'Verily, thou hast given me hopes that I would accomplish something whereat the people would be astonished, but thou hast revoked thy injunction when I was about to execute it. Has any [verse of the] Qurân been revealed with reference to me?' The prophet replied: 'No; but the faithful one [*i.e.*, Gabriel] brought me the following words from the God the Most High: "Only thou, or a man belonging to thee, must do it." But A'li belongs to me; he is my brother, my legatee, my heir, and my successor in the family and among my people. When I shall be no more he will pay my debt and fulfil my promise.'

THE ARRIVAL OF WOFÛD [*i.e.*, DEPUTATIONS] WITH LAUDABLE INTENTIONS.

In this year, likewise, Wofûd arrived from all directions in Madinah, and were ennobled by kissing the feet of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. Among these were also the Bani Ghâmad, who encamped near Baqyi, and hastened to the assembly of the prince of the world, leaving a young man to take care of their baggage. When they had attained the honour of kissing the carpet, and made their profession of the Faith after the customary saluta-

307 'When they [were] both in the cave,' Qurân, ch. ix. 40.
308 In paradise.

tions, his lordship ordered a book to be written for them, which contained the ordinances of the religion, with the principles and practice thereof. His lordship then asked those persons whether they had left anyone behind in their lodgings, and they replied: 'We have left one in our lodgings who is younger than any of us.' His lordship replied: 'He has fallen asleep; a thief has entered your lodging, and has stolen one of your travelling-bags.' One of them replied: 'No one of those persons has a travelling-bag except myself.' His lordship continued: 'The guardian of your place has again got hold of the travelling bag, and is taking care of it.' When the Wofod of the Ghâmed people left the august assembly and returned to their lodgings, they asked the young watchman what had happened in their absence. He replied: 'I had fallen asleep after your departure, and a man who had been watching his opportunity stole the travelling-bag, but I jumped up from my sleep, pursued him, and found that he had entered a pit wherein he had buried the travelling-bag. Accordingly I took it out, and brought it again to our lodgings.' Those men then said to the youth: 'The apostle of God has informed us of this matter, and we bear testimony to the truth of his apostleship.' After saying these words, they again waited on the prince of existences—u. w. b.—and represented the fact to him, whereon the said youth was likewise ennobled by kissing the august carpet and acknowledging the unity of God the Most High and the prophetship of the lord of apostles—u. w. b.

Another of the Wofûd of this year was that of Jaryr B. A'bdullah Albahly, which took place as follows: A'bdullah attained, with one hundred and fifty men of his tribe, the felicity of meeting his holy and prophetic lordship and of professing Islâm. Before the arrival of that company the lord of apostleship had said to his friends: 'A man having the signs of nobility on him will make his appearance.' After his lordship had communicated this information, Jaryr B. A'bdullah arrived with his people

and made a profession of Islám. His lordship asked him: 'Wilt thou become my adherent, acknowledge the unity of God—whose name be exalted—and my apostolate? Promisest thou to hold prayers, to pay the legal alms, to keep the fast of Ramadzán, to obey my governor, and to love all Musalmáns, even if they were Abyssinian slaves?' Jaryr made a covenant to observe all these injunctions, and when his lordship asked him about the state of the tribes related to and dwelling near him, he replied: 'O apostle of God, the religion of Islâm has become current among them; the people have destroyed their idol-temples, and are worshipping in mosques.' His lordship continued: 'What is the condition of the idol-temple of Dhu-l-khalyfah?' Jaryr replied: 'The idol-temple of Dhu-l-khalyfah is [standing] as before.' The apostle of God asked: 'O Jaryr, wilt thou relieve my mind of it?' Jaryr said: 'O apostle of God, it was always my wish that this business should fall to my lot, and that no one else should demolish it.' The apostle of God said: 'Go and destroy that idol-temple.' Jaryr replied: 'O apostle of God, it is very far from here to Dhu-l-khalyfah. I cannot mount a horse to reach it quickly, because every horse I ride throws me; and if I mount a camel it will take a long time to arrive there.' After Jaryr had said these words his holy and prophetic lordship exclaimed: 'O Lord, give him a guide, and cause him to be guided.' It is related of Jaryr that he said: 'When his lordship had prayed for and dismissed me I departed, and I swear by that God who has sent Muhammad in truth that I mounted an unruly, fleet charger, but I found him gentle under my thighs, like a lamb. I travelled day and night till I reached my destination, set the idol-temple on fire, and razed it to the ground. Then I despatched a courier to Madinah, to inform his lordship of what I had done.' It is related that after the burning and destruction of the idol-temple the inhabitants of Dhu-l-khalyfah attained the nobility of Islám. The treasury belonging to that temple contained much property and perfumes, all of which were brought to

Madinah. When his holy and prophetic lordship heard what had taken place, and that the idol-temple had been demolished, he rejoiced greatly, invoking a benediction upon Jaryr and his tribe. It is related that the just-mentioned individual was six cubits high, so that when he sat on horseback his feet were trailing on the ground; he was also remarkably beautiful, and O'mar B. Alkhattâb surnamed him the Yusuf [Joseph]of the [Musalmân] people.

Another Wofod was that of the Bani Hanyfah, who alighted on their arrival in Madinah at the mansion of Ramlah, the daughter of Alhâreth, by order of the apostle of God, and thereon attained the felicity of kissing the most holy carpet and making a profession of Islâm. Moseylamah the liar was one of that company, and likewise accepted the religion, but when he returned to Yamamah he was led astray by Satan, relapsed again, laid claim to prophecy, and said: 'The God of Muhammad has made me a partner in prophecy with Muhammad.' Thereon a great number of rebels and enemies believed him. He allowed his followers to neglect prayer, to drink wine, and to practise usury. In lieu of the glorious Qurân he composed nonsense which was far from elegance and oratory. He despatched two of his misguided adherents as envoys to the lord of this world and the next, and sent by them an epistle, the contents whereof are, according to the tradition of the author of the *Mostaqadza*, as follows: 'From Moseylamah the apostle of God, to Muhammad the apostle of God. But after [the usual compliments I state]: Verily I have been made a partner with thee in this matter. One half of the earth will belong to us, and the other to the Qoraish. The nomadic Arabs will belong to thee, and those settled in towns to me; but the Qoraish are a treacherous race.' When the envoys of Moseylamah arrived in Madinah and presented the letter, his holy and prophetic lordship became angry, and, exhibiting the wooden toothpick he held in his hand, said: 'I swear by God that if he were to ask this from me I would not give it to him.' Then the apostle of God asked the envoys: 'What do you say?' They re-

plied: 'We say what Moseylamah says.' His lordship continued: 'If it were not illegal to kill envoys I would slay you.' Then he ordered the following answer to be written to Moseylamah: 'From Muhammad the apostle of Allah, to Moseylamah the liar. Greeting to him who follows [Divine] guidance! Verily I have received thy letter, which attributes a falsehood and a lie to God. For He causeth those of His servants to inherit the earth whom He liketh, and the pious will have a blessed end.' It is related that when both these letters were shown to a learned Arab, he averred that the second looked like the epistle of a prophet. The author of this work says that if Divine favour seconds his intention he will soon narrate in these pages the going of Khâled B. Alwolyd to Yamamah, and explain how Moseylamah the liar was killed.

During this year Firuz Daylamy, who was a son of the Najjâshy's daughter, became a Musalmân. This Firuz is the same who killed Aswad B. I'sa, who claimed to be a prophet; but as many of the chief historians state that Aswad was slain during the Khalifate of Ssiddyq Akbar—u. w. b.—and not during the life-time of the prophet—u. w. b.—that event will be narrated with those that took place during the reign of the just-mentioned Khalif, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. In this year Bâdân, the Governor of Yemen, whose profession of Islâm has been recorded above, departed from this perishable to the imperishable abode, and his lordship having been informed of this event, he made the following distribution: To the son of Bâdân he assigned a portion of the province, another to A'amer B. Shammâr Hamdâny, another to Abu Mûsa Asha'ry, another to Ali B. Ommyah, and another to Ma'adh B. Jabul.

A'LI THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL—U. W. B.—PROCEEDS TO YEMEN, AND THE DEEDS OF THAT EMÂM OF THE AGE.

During this year the Musstafa—u. w. b.—appointed Ali Murtadza—u. w. b.—to go to Yemen, and ordered him to encamp in the place Qubâ, so that those destined to serve

under his command might join him. He tied a standard for the Commander of the Faithful with his own prosperous hands and fixed two streamers on the top thereof; one being in front, about a cubit long, and the other in the rear, one span in length. He attached three hundred brave men to the Commander, saying: 'O A'li, I send thee away, and am sorry to part with thee!' and continued: 'O A'li, invade the country of the enemies, but fight them not, until they attack thee. Invite them to utter the words "There is no God but Allah." If they accept them, teach them to pray, and t give alms to the poor among them; and if they assent, injure them in no way whatever.' It is related that when A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—was about to depart to Yemen, he said: 'O apostle of God, thou sendest me to the country of people who have received a book [*i.e.*, Jews and Christians]; but I am young, and not very well acquainted with the judicial commandments and ordinances of our religion.' Then his lordship placed his august hand on the breast of A'li, and said: 'O God, strengthen his tongue and create a new heart in him!' Wherefore he became so accomplished in judicial matters that his lordship said: 'The most skilled among us in religious law is A'li.' There is a tradition that when the apostle of God—u. w. b.—took leave of A'li, he said: 'By Allah! if God the Most High bestows guidance on a single individual by means of thee, thou wilt fare better than anyone that the sun ever rose or shone upon.' In fine, A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—marched with three hundred valiant men to Yemen, and when the glorious army had reached its destination, it obtained much plunder. It is related of Barâ B. Ghâreb that he said: 'When we arrived in the vicinity of Yemen, we discovered traces of the army of the opponents, and when A'li Murtadza had completed his prayers, he drew up the army in battle-array, entered the plain, and read to the inhabitants the letter of the apostle of God, inviting them to accept the orthodox religion; and among the inhabitants of Yemen the tribe Hamdân at once attained the nobility of Islâm. A'li then

wrote a letter to his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—wherein he explained what had taken place, and that prince was so rejoiced by the news that he performed the prostration of gratitude. In some books we read that when the victorious army of the Commander of the Faithful was roaming about in all directions collecting plunder, A'li —u. w. b.—appointed Borydah B. Alhassyb to guard the spoils, and marched against the opponents, whom he encountered, and invited to accept the religion. They, however, refused to comply, stretching out their hands for arrows and stones. The Commander therefore halted awhile, and afterwards again invited them by wise arguments and counsel to accept the way of truth, but in vain. Perceiving that nought remained but to fight them, he drew up his forces in battle-array and handed the flag to Masu'd B. Sanân Solmy. While both parties were thus engaged in getting ready, a man of the Madhaj tribe, Madân by name, entered the lists from the side of the enemy, but Aswad Khozaa'y rushed upon him like a furious lion and sent him to the fire of hell with one blow of his scimitar. After that A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u w. b.—entered the battle-field, and when twenty idolaters had been slain, the rest whom the sword had spared took to flight. His lordship the Commander of the Faithful then advanced further, invited those people to accept Islam, whereon they became Musalmâns, and said: 'If thou orderest us to attack those who have not adopted Islâm, nor intend to do so, we shall obey thee. Our property is at thy disposal. Take from it the portion due to God, that we may be absolved from further disbursements.' He complied with their request, distributed the spoils, separated one-fifth thereof, and appointed Abu Rafi' to guard it. Then he proceeded on the wings of celerity to Mekkah, because his holy and prophetic lordship had departed to the sanctuary, as will be narrated by-and-by.

Biographical works are replete with accounts that before A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—had started, the apostle of God sent Khâled B. Wolyd to Yemen, and that afterwards he

despatched the former to supervise the latter. Some allege that he had despatched A'li merely to receive one-fifth of the spoils which Khâled had collected. There is a tradition of Borydah B. Alhassyb that he said: 'I was present in that expedition, and was an enemy to A'li. When one-fifth of the booty had been separated, A'li picked out for himself a maiden, distinguished above all the others in beauty and amiability, associated with her, and then washed himself. After that I asked Khâled B. Alwolyd: "Seest thou what that man A'li is doing?" I also said to A'li: "O father of Hasan, what is this?" He replied: "Seest thou not that this girl, which was in the fifth part of the spoils, and fell to the share of the family of Muhammad, became afterwards the portion of the family of A'li, and I had intercourse with her."' Borydah continues: 'When I attained the happiness of waiting on the prince of existences—u. w. b.—I represented what had taken place, and he replied: "O Borydah, perhaps thou art an enemy of A'li?" I said: "Yes." He continued: "Be not his enemy; for if thou wilt like him, thy friendship will increase. The portion of A'li in the fifth amounted to more than this girl."' Others, again, have a tradition that Borydah said: 'When I represented the circumstance to the apostle of God, his blessed countenance became excited, and he said: "Harbour no evil suspicions about A'li, for he belongs to me, and I to him. He is your master; and when I am dead, A'li will be the master of every one whose master I am."' Borydah continues: 'After that I loved A'li more than anyone else.'

In some books it is related that after the Ghazwah of Tabuk, A'mru B. Ma'dy Karibu-z-zobaydy came to Madinah, and presented himself in the assembly of his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—who spoke to him something about the day of the resurrection, in consequence whereof he became a Musalmân, and many of his people followed his example. On that occasion A'mru discovered Abu Sha'th Alkhosha'y, the murderer of his father, whom he caught by the neck and brought to his

holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—to revenge himself on him by the command of that prince; but the apostle of God said: 'Islâm abrogates every custom which existed in the time of ignorance.' This reply so displeased A'mru B. Ma'dy that he apostatized and returned to his own country; on the road, however, he plundered a company of the Bani Alhâreth B. Ka'b and then joined his tribe. When the prince of existences had heard this news, he despatched A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—with a number of Mohâjer against the Bani Zobayd, who were of the people of A'mru. At the same time he despatched Khâled B. Alwolyd against a certain Arab tribe, with orders that when the cavalry of A'li—u. w. b.—and of Khaled joined each other, the former should be the commander of both. In fine, A'li Murtadza appointed Khaled B. Sa'yd Ala'ass, and Khâled B. Alwolyd appointed Abu Mûsa Ashu'ry, to command the vanguard of their respective forces, both of which thereon separated, and marched to their destinations. The troops that were with Khâled likewise separated into two parties, one of them marching to Yemen, and the other joining the Bani Zobayd. When A'li the Amir of the Faithful—u. w. b.—learnt what had taken place, he sent a messenger to Khâled B. Wolyd with the following order: 'Thou art to stop at the place in which my courier meets thee.' Khaled, however, paying no attention to this order, A'li the Commander of the Faithful ordered Khâled B. Sa'yd to overtake Khâled B. Alwolyd, and to stop him, wherever he might find him, until the Amir reached him. Khâled B. Sa'yd obeyed, and when the Amir reached the cavalry of Khâled B. Wolyd he sharply reproved him for his disobedience, and then marched against the tribe of A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab, to whom his people said: 'O father of Thûr, what thinkest thou of the Qoraish youth who is coming to leyy duties and taxes from thee?' A'mru replied: 'He will learn that in any place he meets me.' When the two opposing parties encountered each other, A'mru B. Ma'dy stepped into the battle-field and shouted for a champion, whereon the Com-

mander of the Faithful got ready to fight him, but Khâled B. Sa'yd exclaimed: 'O father of Hasan, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! wilt thou allow me to punish A'mru?' The Amir, however, replied: 'if thou considerest it thy duty to obey me, thou wilt remain quiet in thy place, so that I may fight him.' Khâled accordingly obeyed, and the Commander, arriving opposite to A'mru, uttered a shout so loud as to frighten A'mru that he fled, whereon the victorious army attacked the opponents, killing the brother and nephew of A'mru, as well as capturing his wife, with several other women. After the most noble mind of the Commander of the Faithful had been set at rest with reference to the enemies, he returned, but left Khâled B. Sa'yd in the locality to collect the legal alms, and ordered him to spare the life of every fugitive returning and becoming a Musalmân.

After the departure of A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—A'mru B. Ma'dy Karab went to Khâled B. Sa'yd and became a Musalmân [again]; he also requested the latter to liberate his family from bondage, which was done. After A'li the Commander of the Faithful had gained the victory in that expedition, he selected a maiden for his own use from the fifth part of the spoils, but as soon as Khâled B. Wolyd had heard of this, he forthwith despatched Borydah to inform the apostle of Allah—u. w. b.—of what A'li had done. Borydah obeyed, and handed Khâled's letter containing the accusation against A'li to the lord of prophecy, who became excited on learning what had taken place, and his blessed countenance glowed with anger, whereon Borydah said: 'O apostle of God, if thou allowest people to commit such transgressions, the efforts of the Musalmâns will be rendered nugatory.' His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—however, replied: 'Woe betide thee, Borydah! thou hast committed hypocrisy with reference to A'li. Verily A'li B. Abu Ttâleb is allowed to take from the spoils whatever I am allowed to take. A'li B. Abu Ttâleb is the best of men. For thee and for thy tribe he will be the best man to succeed after me, as well as for the whole

nation. O Borydah, take care not to be the enemy of A'li; for God the Most High will be thy enemy.' Borydah says: 'On that occasion I wished the earth would open and swallow me, and I exclaimed: "May Allah protect me from the wrath of the apostle of God! O apostle of Allah, implore pardon for me; for after this I shall never harbour enmity against Ali, nor speak evil of him." Then the apostle of God prayed that I might be forgiven.' Borydah says: 'After that I loved A'li more than anyone else.' The author of the book *Aa'lâmu-l-warâ* says that Ebn Hanbal has narrated this story in his *Masnad*.

KA'BU-L-AKHBÂR MAKES HIS PROFESSION OF ISLÂM BY THE BLESSING OF THE WORDS OF THE LION OF ATTACK—U. W. B.

There is a tradition that when A'li the Commander of the Faithful — to whom salutation — sojourned in the country of Yemen, preached, and taught the ordinances of Islam, and Ka'bu-l-akhbâr had been informed of his eloquence, he donned a robe, mounted a camel, and proceeded in company of one of the U'lamâ of the Jews, who was his co-religionist, to the assembly of the Amir, who, at the time they entered, happened to be preaching and uttering the words, 'There are men who can see in the night, but not in the day,' and Ka'bu-l-akhbâr said: 'He speaks the truth.' Afterwards the illustrious Commander said: 'Whoever gives with a short hand will be requited with a long hand.' Ka'b again manifested his approbation, but his Jewish companion asked him how he could approve of sentiments the meaning whereof is ambiguous? Ka'b, however, replied: 'The man who sees in the night, but not in the day, is he who believes in the first book [*i.e.*, the Pentateuch] but not in the last [*i.e.*, the Qurân]. He who sees neither in the night nor in the day is a man who believes in neither; and the other assertion is [likewise] plain, because with God the Most High and Glorious alms are acceptable, and He returns them abundantly.' Meanwhile a mendicant begged something from Ka'b, who immediately divested himself of his cloak and surrendered it to him.

The Jewish priest was so displeased with this act that he immediately left Ka'b, and returned to his home. After his departure a woman approached Ka'b, and said: 'Who will give me his camel, and will take mine instead? Ka'b replied: 'If thou wilt give me thy cloak in addition to it, I shall agree to the exchange.' The woman having assented, Ka'b donned her cloak, mounted the camel, went after the priest, and when he had reached him, said: 'Who gives with a short hand is requited with a long hand.' Then Ka'b again returned, waited on the Amir, and inquired about his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. A'li complied with his request, beginning to enumerate the qualities of his lordship, but Khaled smiled, and when A'li the Commander of the Faithful asked him for the reason, he replied: 'I smile because in ancient books we find the qualities of Muhammad to agree with those thou art describing.' Then Ka'bu-l-akhbâr made his profession of the Faith, and learnt the ordinances of Islâm from A'li the Commander of the Faithful according to the best of his ability, remained in Yemen, made it his business to propagate the doctrines and tenets of the noble religion, but came to Madinah during the Khalifate of O'mar the Commander of the Faithful, and always regretted having failed to wait on his lordship the best of created beings. It is, however, related in the history of Ebn Hamdan that at the time when O'mar Alkhattab marched to Aylyá, K'abu-l-akhbâr was dwelling in Syria, and that when the victorious banners of that Khalifah occupied the country, Ka'bu-l-akhbar made haste to wait on him, and to make his profession of the Faith; but Allah the Most High knoweth best.

Revelation of the Blessed Verse of 'Imprecation,' and the Arrival of the Inhabitants of Najrân for the Purpose of a Treaty of Amity.

During this year peace was concluded between his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—and between the Christians of Najrân, which happened as follows: The apostle of God had written a letter to the Christians of Najrân,

and had invited them to make a profession of Islâm. They consulted with each other, selected fourteen men from among themselves, and despatched them to Madinah to obtain authentic information about the prince of existences, and to communicate the same to them. In this Wofod [deputation] there were three distinguished individuals, one of whom was A'bdu-l-masyh [servant of the Messiah], surnamed A'aqubat; he was the Amir, the adviser, and the governor of the Christians of Najrân. The second was a man who had numerous retainers and great property; his name was Yahun, and his surname Sayid. The third was Abu-l-hâreth B. A'lqomah, a scholar and teacher enjoying high dignity and great respect among the Christians. The Greek kings had built churches for him, and paid him a stipend. Abu-l-hâreth had a brother, named Karaz B. A'lqomah, who was also one of the fourteen. While travelling the mule of Abu-l-hâreth excelled [the others], and Karaz said: 'Let him excel who is farthest, namely, Muhammad.' Abu-l-hâreth replied: 'Excel thou rather.' Karaz asked: 'Why sayest thou so, O brother?' Abu-l-hâreth rejoined: 'I swear by Allah that Muhammad is the apostle of God, whom we were expecting.' Karaz asked:-'If such be the case, why makest thou not a profession of the religion of Muhammad? And what hindereth thee from following him?' Abu-l-hâreth replied: 'To agree with Muhammad would entail the enmity of our people; for if we were to do such a thing, we would no longer be respected by the Christians, who would take away all the gifts and possessions which they have given us.' These words engendered love for Islâm in the heart of Karaz; he impelled his camel quickly, and made his profession of Islâm as soon as he attained the felicity of the hand-kiss.

It is related that when the inhabitants of Najrân came to Madinah they wore gold rings on their fingers, and laid aside their travelling apparel, in lieu whereof they donned silk garments, and, trailing their skirts on the ground, thus entered the mosque of the apostle of God, and saluted him.

That prince, however, would not return their greeting nor look at the Christians. They therefore, following the custom of their religion, turned their faces eastward and engaged in prayers; nor did any person present interrupt them, by order of his holy and prophetic lordship. When they had terminated their devotions they approached the apostle, but received no answer to all their speeches. They therefore departed from the mosque sad and disappointed, going to seek an interview with O'thman B. O'ffân and A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf, with whom they had previously been acquainted. They explained their case to them, and said: 'What are we to do now? Must we return to our country, or wait a couple of days?' Then O'thmán and A'bdu-r-rahman asked A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who had been present during this interview: 'O father of Hasan, what is thy opinion concerning these men?' He replied: 'They must put away their gold rings from their fingers, and exchange their garments for the clothes they wore on their journey.' Or, according to another tradition: 'They must put on their costume of monks, and thus enter the august assembly.' The Christians accordingly followed the directions of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—waited on the prince of apostles, and saluted him, whereon his lordship opened his blessed mouth in reply to them, and said: 'I swear by that God who has sent me in reality to mankind, that when these men first entered they arrived in the company of Satan.' His lordship then honoured them with compliments, and invited them to make their profession of Islâm; but the Christians refused, and uttered unconnected words. On that occasion their bishop asked: 'O Muhammad, what thinkest thou of our Lord the Messiah?' That prince replied: 'He was a servant of God and a prophet.' The bishop continued: 'Thinkest thou that I'sa—u. w. b.—had a father who begat him?' His lordship said: 'No.' The bishop asked: 'Then how sayest thou that he was a servant and a created being, whereas thou canst not see any created being without a father?' But his lordship said: 'This day I shall not reply

to your questions. Remain in this city until you receive the answer to your inquiry.'

The next day the following verse was revealed: 'Verily the likeness of Jesus in the sight of Allah is as the likeness of Adam. He created him out of dust, and then said unto him, Be, and he was. [This is] the truth from thy Lord; be not therefore [one] of those who doubt; and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say [unto them], Come, let us call together our sons, and your sons, and our wives, and your wives, and ourselves, and yourselves; then let us make imprecations,[309] and lay the curse of Allah on those who lie' Then his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—called the men of Najrân, and recited to them the verse which had just been revealed. They, however, remained stedfast in their belief, denying the truth of the Qurân, and when his lordship perceived the obstinacy and resistance of the Christians, he said to them: 'Come, let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of Allah on those who lie.' The Christians, however, replied: 'Give us respite this day, that we may go and consider, and make our imprecations to-morrow.' His lordship complied with their request, the Christians returned to their lodgings, and said to A'aqubat, who was their adviser and counsellor: 'What do circumstances require and what must we do? We shall act according to what seems best to thee.' A'aqubat replied: 'O ye Christian people, you know full well as a certainty that Muhammad is an inspired prophet, and that he has given you a convincing argument about I'sa—u. w. b. Leave off, therefore, making imprecations. By Allah, no sect had ever made [mutual] imprecations with a prophet, and lived after that; and if you make imprecations with him, you will all perish. As, however, you do not mean to abandon your religion, enter into negotiations with him, and get him to agree to your being allowed to pay the poll-tax.' After they had all assented to this

[309] On account of this word this passage is called the verse of *imprecation*. See Qurân, ch. iii. 52, 53, 54.

proposal, the Wofod proceeded next morning to the sacred habitation, at the moment when his lordship the refuge of termination was just coming out from his august chamber, leading Hasan, the son of A'li B. Abu Ttáleb—u. w. b.—by the hand, with that of Husayn, the [other] son of A'li—u. w. b.—under his arm, followed by A'li and Fattimah—u. w. b.—and saying to them: 'When I finish the prayers you must say Amen.' After the Christians had seen these five persons, heard the prayers and the Amen, they were overwhelmed with fear and terror. Hereon Abu-l-háreth, who was their scholar and spokesman, said: 'My friends, I behold a man who is able to move a mountain from its place if he willeth. You must, therefore, not make imprecations with him, or else you will bring on your own destruction. I believe that if you dispute with him, not a single Christian will be left alive in the world.' After they had considered the matter for a while, they said to the apostle of God: 'We shall not make imprecations with thee.' Hereon that prince invited them to accept Islâm, and when they refused, he said: 'Then prepare for war and bloodshed.' They replied: 'We have not the strength to resist the Arabs, but we promise to pay thee every year two thousand garments; in the month Ssafar one thousand, and in the month Rajab one thousand, the price of every garment being forty dirhems; on condition that we be allowed to retain our religion and to live under thy protection.' His lordship agreed to these conditions, and having written a treaty of peace, handed it to the Christians.

In some books we read that when the verse of 'imprecation' was revealed the Christians consulted with each other about returning next day and making imprecations. When, however, they had left the august assembly and had returned to their lodgings, the bishop said to them: 'If Muhammad causes his family and children to be present at the imprecation, you must abstain therefrom, because it would bring calamity on the Christians; but if he brings only his friends with him, you may hold the imprecation.'

When the apostle of God came out in the morning from his chamber, leading Hasan and Husayn, the sons of A'li, followed by the latter with Fattimah, A'aqubat, and Sayd, and Abu-l-hareth, who were the chiefs of the Christians, made their appearance. The bishop asked: 'Who are these persons accompanying Muhammad?' Being told that they were A'li, his cousin and son-in-law, with his wife, the mother of these two children, all the most excellent and noble of mankind, the bishop continued: 'I swear by God, in the grasp of whose power my life is, that I see persons whose request God would grant if they were to pray for the removal of a mountain. Make no imprecations with Muhammad, for he has come with his family and is trusting in God. If you make imprecations against him your times will be changed, your country will be abased, and no Christian will be left on the face of the earth. Were it not for fear of the Qayssar, I would be the first to profess Islam. You must make a treaty of peace with Muhammad, and agree to what both parties might decide upon.' When the prophet—u. w. b.—arrived near that company he sat down on his haunches and invited them to make imprecations.' The bishop, however, said: 'I swear by God, he is on his knees as prophets are accustomed to sit during imprecations, and the truth is on his side.' The Christians, who had heard these words of their bishop, said: 'O father of Qâsim, we shall not utter imprecations against, but will make peace with thee.' Thereon the treaty was concluded between the two parties as recorded above, and when the negotiation had come to an end, the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—said to the bishop: 'I see thee returning to thy quarters, falling asleep, and afterwards placing the bridle on thy camel, putting that before which ought to be behind.' When the bishop went to his dwelling he slept. Then he rose carelessly placed the reins in the wrong way on his camel, but, perceiving his mistake, he exclaimed: 'I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the apostle of Allah.' It is related that on the above occasion

the apostle of God said with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'I swear by Allah, in whose power my life is, that misfortune would have befallen the people of Najrân had they made imprecations against me, because God the Most High would have changed them into monkeys and hogs. Fire would have rained upon them from this Wâdy, and God the Most High would have extirpated the inhabitants of Najrân before the expiration of one year. In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* there is a tradition of A'ayshah that she said: 'The apostle of God came out in a cloak of black fur, and after him Hasan, whom he put into it; then came Husayn, whom he likewise placed under it. Then A'li said: "Verily God desires to remove sinfulness from you, and to purify you with a perfect purification."'[400]

HAJJATU-L-WODAA' [PILGRIMAGE OF VALEDICTION].

During the year his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—went on pilgrimage, which took place as follows: After the apostle of God had determined to go to Mekkah, he sent messengers to the Arab tribes who had attained the nobility of Islâm that he was about to proceed to the sanctuary, and that all persons desirous to go on pilgrimage were to leave their habitations and to join him. When this news had spread far and wide, numbers of people beyond all calculation started for Mekkah, and were in attendance on the heaven-aspiring stirrup to learn the ceremonies of the visitation. When the crowds had assembled his lordship started, according to one tradition, on Sunday, the twenty-fifth of the month Dhu-l-qa'dah, and according to another he departed on Monday from Madinah; but another tradition states that he performed his ablution on the first day of the said month, anointed his blessed countenance with oil, combed his propitious head, perfumed his unparalleled body, laid aside his garments, donned himself in two *Izârs*, issued from his august apartment, held

[400] This Christian deputation from Najrân is also discussed in Sir William Muir's 'Life of Mahomet,' vol. ii., pp. 300-303.

the ordained prayers with four flexions at noon in the mosque of Madinah, and departed to Dhu-l-khalifah. When he arrived in that place he held the omitted post-meridian prayers, and selected nearly one hundred camels for the sacrifice. One of these he himself consecrated, and put on the garlands with his own blessed hands, appointing Nahyah B. Jundal to take care of the others. Nahyah says: 'I asked his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—what I was to do in case a camel should be in danger of perishing. And he replied: "Slaughter it, and having sprinkled its garland with blood, place its trappings on Yemen-cloth, but neither thou nor thy companions must eat of the flesh thereof."'

On that occasion Fattimah—salutation to her—and all the other mothers of the Musalmâns were seated in howdahs, and had the felicity of accompanying the prophet. According to a certain tradition, one hundred and fourteen thousand persons were in that journey attending on the heaven-aspiring stirrup, and after his lordship had held the second prayers at Dhu-l-khalifah, he mounted his private camel Qasswy and tied on the *Ehrâm*. Jâber the Anssâry says: 'When I arrived in the retinue of the apostle of God at Dhu-l-khalifah, Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys, gave birth to Muhammad B. Abu Bakr, and sent to his lordship a message asking him what she was to do with the breathings?[401] He sent the reply: "Tie up thy womb with something, but do not disregard thy *Ehrâm* [state of a pilgrim], and utter the *Talabbyah*." The Talabbyah is comprised in the following words: "I await Thy commands, O Allah! I await Thy commands! Thou hast no partner! I await Thy commands! For praise and glory are due to Thee! Thou hast no partner!"'

After travelling over the distance he arrived in Dhu Towa, where he held the matutinal prayers, and leaving that place, he entered Mekkah from the upper portion, proceeded to the mosque of the sanctuary, saluted the black-stone, and encompassed the house [of the Ka'bah], proceed-

401 This is the name of the hæmorrhage after parturition.

ing quickly during the three first, and according to the usual manner during the four last circumambulations, *i.e.*, slowly. On that occasion he drew forth his sacred *Redâ* from under his right arm, and threw it over his left shoulder. After the circumambulation he turned his propitious face to the place of Ebrâhim, and recited the blessed verse, 'Consider the place of Ebrâhim as a place of prayer,' with his wonderfully eloquent tongue. Between the Ka'bah and the place of Ebrâhim he prayed with two flexions, during the first of which he recited the *Fâtehah* [first chapter of the Qurân] and 'Say, O ye unbelievers.'[402] During the second he recited the Sûrah *Ikhlâss*,[403] proceeded to the black-stone, touched it, and came out by the gate of Ssafâ. When he arrived in the last-mentioned place he recited the blessed verse, 'Moreover, Ssafâ and Merwah are [two] of the monuments of Allah,'[404] and said: 'I begin wherewith Allah the Most High has begun,' and ran between Ssafâ and Merwah. When he entered Ssafa, he turned his blessed face to the Qiblah of prayer, looked towards the house of the Ka'bah, and said: 'There is no God but Allah alone. He has no partner. To Him belong the kingdom and the glory. He causes people to live and to die, and He is the living One who dies not. He is omnipotent. There is no God but Allah alone. He kept His promise, aided His servants, and He alone put the confederates to flight.' Then he prayed, and thrice repeated the just-mentioned words. After that he proceeded to Merwah, went quickly through the Wâdy, and then again went slowly, acting in Merwah as he had done in Ssafâ. When he had finished running, he issued orders that everyone who had no [animal for] sacrifice should divest himself of the *Ehrâm* and be free, but put it on again on the day of *Tarawiah*; but that anyone possessing an animal for sacrifice should abide in his *Ehrâm* till the day of the slaughter. Then he said: 'Had I known before what I know now, I would not have brought any sacrificial animals with me, but would have

[402] Qurân, ch. cix.
[403] Qurân, ch. cxii., 'Declaration of God's unity.'
[404] *Ibid.*, ch. ii., part of verse 153.

purchased them in Mekkah, would have laid aside my *Ehrâm*, and at present be free like yourselves; but as I have the animals with me, I cannot be delivered [of the Ehrâm] until I have slaughtered them.' Fattimah Zohrâ —u. w. b.—and several other mothers of the Musalmâns having no sacrificial camels with them, they were freed of the *Ehrâm*, as also the companions who had no animals to sacrifice. Meanwhile also A'li the Commander of the Faithful had arrived from Yemen, bringing several camels for presentation to his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b. —and that prince asked him: 'With what intention hast thou tied on the *Ehrâm?*' He replied: 'O apostle of God, as thou hast not told me thy intention, I said: "O Allah, I have tied on the *Ehrâm* with the same intention wherewith Thy apostle has tied it on."' The prophet replied: 'I have tied on the *Ehrâm* for the pilgrimage, and have brought with me sacrificial camels. Abide thou also in thy *Ehrâm*, and be my partner in the presentation-camels.' On that occasion A'li Murtadza—u. w. b.—saw that Fattimah—u. w. b.—was dressed in a handsome robe, and had collyrium round her eyes. He therefore asked why she had freed herself [from the obligations of the *Ehrâm*], but the princess of the women of this world—u. w. b.—replied: 'I have put away the *Ehrâm* by order of the prophet.'

The apostle of God—u. w. b.—remained from Sunday till Thursday, the eighth of Dhu-l-hejjah, *i.e.*, four days, and went on the said Thursday with the Musalmâns to Menah, where he rested, holding the daily prayers as well as the vespertine and dormitory ones. He spent also the night in that locality, and held the matutinal prayers in the morning, and went after sunrise to A'rafat, where he entered a tent prepared for him in the place called U'rwah. There he remained till the sun began to decline, whereon he mounted his she-camel Qasswy and entered the lower portion of the Wâdy, where he preached a sermon mounted as he was, and said during it: 'Ye are prohibited to shed each other's blood, to take each other's property, or to quarrel during

this sacred day and month.' He also said: 'Be aware that I have trodden under foot the customs of the time of ignorance, and any murders committed during it can now no longer be avenged. The first retaliation which I have ordered to be abrogated was the one for the murder of Rabya'h B. Alhâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, the son of my father's brother. I have abolished the blood-mulct of the time of ignorance, and the first which I thus abrogate is that for A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, that I may be the first who shows how to abstain from taking blood or property [in retaliation].' After that he uttered with his wonderfully eloquent tongue several precepts about keeping women, and continued: 'I leave something with you, which if you follow it you will not err, namely, the Qurán.' He also said: 'You shall be questioned about me on the morrow of the resurrection. You will be asked, "How has Muhammad dealt with you? How has he promulged his message and the commandments?" What reply will you give?' They answered: 'On that day we shall bear witness that thou hast fulfilled the conditions of thy apostleship, hast discharged the duties wherewith thou hast been entrusted, and hast not omitted to promulge any of the laws of direction, nor the needful admonitions.' When that prince heard these words he lifted his index-finger to heaven, and then, pointing to the ground, he exclaimed thrice: 'O Allah, I bear testimony [to what the people have now said].' After that the call to prayers and the *Eqâmet*[405] were proclaimed. He led the devotions, the *Eqâmet* was repeated, and he again held prayers with the assembled multitude. After that he mounted his camel, entered the *Maqaf*,[406] turned his face to the Qiblah, engaged in devotions, and continued them till sunset.

Ebn A'bbâs says: 'When the apostle of God stood in the Maqaf, I saw him raising his blessed hands and touching his propitious countenance with his palms, saying: "The most excellent prayer of mine, and of the prophets who

[405] Call to prayers besides the appointed times.
[406] Name of the standing place in A'rafat.

were before me, is this: "There is no God but Allah alone, who has no partner. His is the kingdom and the glory, and He is omnipotent."' In some biographical works it is mentioned that there is a difference of opinion among the U'lamâ whether that prince was fasting on the day of A'rafat or not. The argument of those who believe that he did not fast is that Ommu-l-fadzl, the mother of A'bdullah B. A'bbâs, had said: 'At the time when his lordship was standing in the Maqaf I sent him a pitcher of milk, of which he drank, and the people who saw it knew that he was not fasting.' On this day, also, the blessed verse, 'To-day I have perfected your religion, and have completed my favour to you, and have granted you Islâm for a religion,'[407] was revealed. It is related that on the said day he remained till sunset in A'rafat. Then he caused Asamah B. Zayd to mount behind him, and held the bridle of Qasswy so short that the camel's head touched the pillow which was in front of his lordship; but when she began to ascend he slackened the reins, so that the camel went up easily. When he arrived at Mazdalfah he held the sunset and evening prayers, with the Adhân[408] and Eqâmet, spending the night in Mazdalfah. In the morning, when it was yet dark, he held prayers, went to the holy monument,[409] stood with his face towards the Qiblah, uttering the Takbyr, the *Tahlyl*,[410] and the *Tawahyd*,[411] and remaining until the day had fairly dawned. He left the holy monument before the sun rose, and after it had risen the Qoraish also departed. When his lordship went away he allowed Fadzl B. A'bbâs, who was a son of Ssabyh Alwojah, to mount behind him; but as they were riding Fadzl looked every now and then towards the women of Bahrayin, who were just passing, and that prince with his blessed hand turned the head of the young man away from them in another direction. When they arrived in the valley of the

[407] Qurân, ch. v. 5.
[408] Call to prayers by the Muedhdhin.
[409] Qurân. ch. ii. 194. *Almasha'ri-l-horâm.*
[410] This is merely the joyous shout, 'Allah! Allah!'
[411] This is *La alaha illallah*: 'There is no God but Allah!'

ceremonies he impelled his camel quickly, and proceeded through the middle road to Hamratu-l-a'qabah Kabra. When he reached the last-named place he halted in the centre of the Wâdy, where he threw seven stones, and shouted the Takbyr at the throwing of each. On this day he preached at Menâ, prohibiting bloodshed, rapacity, and quarrelling in the same way as he had done on the day of A'rafat. He also described the coming of the *Dajjâl*,[412] his figure, and qualities. He also imparted advice on many other subjects. When he had terminated his sermon he hastened to the *Manahar*,[413] where the sacrificial camels of the apostle of God had been kept, together with those brought by A'li from Yemen, which amounted to nearly one hundred. Of these he killed sixty-three with his own hands, according to the number of the years of his age, and ordered A'li to slaughter the rest. Then he got his blessed head shaved, and distributed the sacred hairs thereof among his companions and wives. Some of the companions likewise shaved, whilst others merely clipped their hair. For the former his lordship uttered three prayers, and for the latter one prayer, in the same way as on the day of Hodaybiah, for mercy and pardon. He ordered also a little flesh to be taken from every one of the camels sacrificed, and to be cooked in a pot. The noble one of the family of B. Ghâleb—u. w. b.—[414] partook of that meat and broth with A'li B. Abu Ttâleb, because he had made him his partner and associate in the sacrifice. After that A'li the Commander of the Faithful distributed, by order of his lordship, the meat and hides of the camels among the people, and paid the wages of the butchers from other sources. When he was freed from [the restrictions and ceremonies of] the *Ehrâm*, he rode to Mekkah, encompassed the Ka'bah, held the earlier prayers, went to the well Zemzem, and said: 'O sons of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb, draw water from the well Zemzem; and if I feared not that

[412] The Antichrist.
[413] Name of the place where the sacrificial animals are slaughtered.
[414] This is also an epithet of Muhammad.

the people would overpower you, I would draw with you.' Then a bucket was brought for his lordship to drink.

When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had terminated the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, he remained for some days in the noble city of Mekkah, and then departed to the honoured town of Madinah. After traversing the proper distance, he arrived in Ghadyr Khumm, which is in the vicinity of Hajfah. In that place he halted, held matutinal prayers, turned his face to the companions, and said: 'Are we not above the believers themselves?' But, according to another tradition, he said: 'It seems to me that I am called to the eternal world, and that I have complied. Let it be known unto you that I leave two important matters with you, one of which is more important than the other; I mean the Qurân and the members of my house. Take care how you deal with these things after my decease, and how you respect them. For these two subjects will not be separated from each other until they meet me on the bank of the Kawthar.' Then he continued with his wonderfully eloquent tongue: 'Verily, Allah the Most High is my Lord, and I am the lord of the believers.' He then took A'li's hand, exclaiming: 'A'li is the master of those whose master I am. O Allah, his family is my family; his friends are my friends. I injure those who injure him, and I befriend those who aid him. Truth is with him, wherever he is.' The author of these pages says that with reference to this matter, the statement in the *Aa'llâmu-l-wara* and of the *Rabyi'-l-abrâr* is as follows: When his holy and prophetic lordship arrived in Ghadyr Khumm on his return from Mekkah, he ordered a place to be cleaned under some trees, and the saddles of the camels to be collected and placed in one heap. Then Ballâl proclaimed prayers by order of his lordship, the people assembled, that prince mounted the heap of saddles, and was at his own desire followed also by A'li, who stood on his right side. After that his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b. —poured forth with his propitious tongue praise and gratitude to the Lord of Glory, exhorted the people, informed

them of his own [approaching] death, and said: 'I am called to the mansion of eternity. I shall soon comply, and leave you. I leave, however, two things with you, and if you take hold of them you will not go astray. These two things are the book of Allah and my family, which will not separate from each other until they join me on the bank of the lake Kawthar.' Then he said: 'O ye multitude of people, who is nearer to you than your own souls?' They all replied: 'God the Most High and His apostle.' He continued: 'To whomsoever I am nearer than his own soul, to him also A'li is nearer than his own soul.' Then he took off A'li from the pack-saddles of the camels in such a manner that the foot of A'li was on the top of the knee of the prophet, and said: 'Whose lord I am, A'li is also his lord. O Allah, love him whom he loves, and hate him whom he hates. Assist any one who befriends him, and injure everybody who injures him.' Then he came down and sat in his own tent, ordering A'li to sit in another. After that he ordered numbers of persons to go to the tent of A'li and to congratulate him. After they had done so, the mothers of the Believers also went to A'li—u. w. b.—by order of the lord of existences—u. w. b.—and felicitated him. Of the number of the companions present, O'mar B. Alkhattâb said: 'Blessed art thou, O A'li; for thou hast been exalted by my lord and by the lord of all the believers of both sexes.'

It is related that when his holy and prophetic lordship had, after performing the journey, arrived in the vicinity of Madinah, and his blessed eye alighted on the glorious country, he exclaimed: 'There is no God but Allah. He has no partner. His is the kingdom and the glory, and He is omnipotent We turn to God, praise and worship Him. God has fulfilled His promise, has aided His servants, and He alone has put to flight the confederates.' During this year Ebrâhim, the son of the apostle of God, died in his infancy, and [with reference to this event] A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf says: 'The apostle of God took me by the hand, led me to the bedside of Ebrâhim, and embraced his

beloved son, who was in a dying state, and when he perceived him in this condition he wept. I said: "O apostle of God, do not weep; for thou hast prohibited us to weep." But the apostle of God replied: "I have forbidden you to lament and to cry, to strike your faces and to tear your garments; but to weep is mercy, and he who has no mercy will receive no mercy, O Ebrâhim. Were not the promise of God true, and that all who live must die, I would certainly be more sad than I am. But, although I am grieved to part with thee, and shed tears, I say nothing against the will of God the Most High."' Barâ Ebn Ghâreb says: 'Ebrâhim died when he was sixteen months old; the prophet prayed over his corpse, and said: "Ebrâhim has a nurse in paradise, who will complete his suckling time."' On the day of his death the sun became darkened, and the people said that an eclipse had taken place on account of this event. His lordship, however, observed: 'Sunshine and moonshine are two indications of the signs of God the Most High and Glorious, and they are eclipsed for the death of no one. If, however, you behold an eclipse, let it become an occasion of prayer to you, that it may be removed.'

Events of the Eleventh Year after the Flight,[415] and Death of his Lordship the Prince of Inspired Messengers—u. w. b.

The U'lamâ of biographies—Allah have mercy on them!—have said that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had returned to Madinah from the pilgrimage of valediction, he fell sick, and [never quite] recovered again, and that when the news of his indisposition had spread near and far, some persons laid claim to prophecy, such as Moseylamah B. Thamâmah Hanfy, and Aswad B. Ka'b B. I'sa, and Ttolhah B. Khowylad Asdy, and Shujaa' B. Hâreth B. Sowyd Tamymy. But as, according to the unanimous consent of traditionalists and biographers

[415] Began on the 29th March, A.D. 632.

Moseylamah, and of historians Aswad, were both killed during the time of the Khalifate of Ssiddyq, this affair will be narrated in detail among the events of that period, and as Ttolbah as well as Shujaa' likewise put forth their claims at that time, their adventures will likewise be narrated on the said occasion, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

One of the events of this year was that on Monday, the twenty-sixth of the month Ssafar, his lordship issued orders to a number of Musalmâns to make preparations for marching against the [Byzantine] Greeks, and that the next day he called Asâmah B. Zayd, and said to him: 'I appoint thee Amir over this army. March in the direction of Mowtah, where thy father was slain. Attack the enemies, set fire to their habitations and goods. Make haste to surprise the people before the news reaches them; nor must thou remain there long if Allah the Most High grants thee victory over them, but return quickly. Take also guides with thee, and despatch spies in advance.' On Wednesday, the twenty-eighth of Ssafar, that prince had a violent fever and headache, and on Thursday he tied, despite of his malady, the banner [of command] with his own propitious hands for Asâmah, saying: 'In the name of Allah, for the religion of Allah, fight those who are unbelievers!' Asâmah went out with the standard, which he gave to Borydah B. Alhassyb, and made him the commander of the army. Asâmah halted in the place Haraf to wait till all the forces were assembled, and his lordship the prophet also ordered Ssiddyq, Farûq, Dhu-n-nûryn and other chiefs of the Mohâjer and nobles of the Anssâr, to march in that expedition with Asâmah. This arrangement, however, displeased many of the companions, and disapproving of it, they said: 'The apostle of God has made that boy the governor of the Mohâjer, and of such a [distinguished] company.' When the words of the malcontents had been reported to the favourite of the Boundless Sovereign, he became very irate, tied a cloth over his blessed head, and left his mansion, despite the headache and fever he was

suffering from, ascended the pulpit, and said, after offering praises and thanksgivings: 'O ye people, what words of yours do I hear with reference to the commandership of Asâmah? If you blame him this day for being the commander, you have undoubtedly blamed his father when he was in command of the Sariah of Mowtah! I swear by Allah that Zayd was worthy of the command, and that after him his son is likewise worthy thereof! Accept, therefore, in good part what I say about him. He is one of the best among you.' After saying these words his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—came down from the pulpit and returned to his august apartment. This happened on Sunday, the tenth Rabyi' anterior, on which day the men appointed to serve under Asâmah also visited his lordship in crowds to take leave, and then hastened to the camp. On that day also the malady of the apostle of God increased, and on the eleventh of the same month Asamah left his army to wait upon his lordship, whose bedside he approached, and kissed his head and hands, but the disease had so augmented that his lordship was unable to speak; he, however, raised his hands to heaven, and then placed them on Asàmah. The latter says: 'I knew that he was praying for me.' After that Asâmah went from the apartment of the apostle of God to the camp, spent the night there, and next morning again paid a visit to his lordship. At that time the apostle of God felt better, and when he dismissed Asámah, he said: 'Go with the blessing of Allah!' He accordingly returned to the camp and issued marching orders, but when he was in the act of mounting [his horse], he received a message from his mother, Omm Aymen, that the apostle of God was in his last agony. Thereon Asamah returned, and the companions likewise. The campaigns of Asàmah during the Khalifate of Ssiddyq will soon be narrated, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High.

Now we shall go to the end of the matter. In most biographical works it is recorded that Ssiddyqah[416] said:

[416] *I.e.*, A'ayshah, the favourite spouse of the prophet and daughter of Abu Bakr Ssiddyq.

'On a certain night during the month Ssafar the apostle of God awoke from sleep and desired to go out, whereon I asked: " May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! Where art thou going?" He replied: "I am commanded to pray for pardon in the Baqyi' cemetery." He then took his freed man Abu Mûyah to accompany him, but according to another tradition he went with Abu Rafi', under whose orders Abu Mûyah was.' Abu Mûyah says: 'When we arrived in the cemetery of Baqyi' he prayed for the people buried there, and uttered so many good wishes in their favour that I longed to be one of them, in order to share in the [effects of the] prayers he offered. After that he harangued the dead as follows: " May ye enjoy well the favours which you have received as a gift of God. Blessed be the place by the infinite graces whereby ye have departed [to the next world], and have been delivered from the dissensions which have beset the people like dark clouds following each other, the first whereof have joined the last, and the end whereof is worse than the beginning." ' In fine, Abu Mûyah says: 'When his lordship had ceased speaking, he turned to me, and said: " O Abu Mûyah, the world and its treasures have been offered to me, and I have been left the option to remain in the world, and after that to enter paradise or to meet my Lord." I said: " O apostle of God, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! Thou hast selected the treasures of the world, the abode therein, and after it paradise." But he replied: "I have elected [to meet] my Creator, and after that [to dwell in] paradise; I renounce the treasures of the world, and everything else except God." '

It is related of Ssiddyqah that she said: 'When the apostle of God was well, I heard him say that every prophet was, before his departure, allowed the option between this and the next world; and when the lethal disease had subdued his exalted nature, he occasionally exclaimed: "[I am] with those prophets, saints, and martyrs whom Thou hast favoured, and they are the best companions [for me]." After that he said: "With the

highest companions." Then I knew that his lordship had been left the option, and that he had selected the eternal world.' There is a tradition that on a certain night the prophet had been ordered to go to Baqyi', and to pray for those who were buried there. That prince obeyed, and when he returned from Baqyi' to the house he fell asleep. Then he was again told to pray for the dead at Baqyi', and he did so for the second time, returned to his august apartment, but fell asleep again, and he was yet rejoicing when he was again ordered to go and to pray for the martyrs. His lordship therefore hastened in the direction of Ohod, and having prayed for them in that place, he returned, but was afflicted by a headache, in consequence whereof he wrapped his head up in a turban.[417] It is said that after he had implored pardon for the persons interred at Baqyi, he informed his friends of his own departure, and in the *Moqassadu-l-warâ* we read that on Wednesday, when two nights of the month Ssafar were still remaining, his lordship was attacked by fever in the house of Maymûnah very violently, but whenever the disease abated he came out and prayed with the people; in the contrary case, however, he used to send word to them to pray without him; but the fever became so strong and continuous that it deprived him of consciousness.

In the *Aa'llâmu-l-warâ* we read that the prophet began to feel unwell on Saturday or Sunday, during the end of the month Ssafar, took hold of the hand of A'li, and, preceded by a number of friends, arrived at Baqyi', where he said: 'Greeting to you, O denizens of the tombs. May you enjoy what is coming. Troubles have arrived like pieces of a dark night; the former are connected with the latter, and they follow each other.' Then he said: 'Be it known unto you that Jebrâil recites the Qurân to me once every year; but this year he has done it ten times. I know he has done this, because my end is at hand.' He also

[417] The word being *E'ssâbet*, may also be a fillet only, which the Arabs usually wear round their heads.

said: 'O A'li, I have been left the choice to receive the treasures of this world and to remain therein, or to dwell in paradise, but I have elected to meet God the Most High, and [after that to dwell in] paradise. When I expire thou art to wash my body, and to cover my pudenda, so that no one may see them without being struck with blindness. After having washed my body, thou art to drink the water remaining in the cavity of my navel, and of the cavities of my eyes, that thou mayest inherit the knowledge of the prophets of former and of latter times.' After that he returned to his house, and was sick three days. On Wednesday he came out and went to the mosque, but his head was tied up, and he reclined against A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who was on the right, and against A'bbas, who sat on the left side of the pulpit. After praising God the Most High, he said: 'O ye people, be it known unto you that the time has indeed come for me to depart from among you. Therefore, every one to whom I am indebted must tell me, so that I may pay him.' Then a man rose and said: 'O apostle of God, I have a claim on thee, and thou hast told me that thou wilt give me money.' The prophet replied: 'Fadzl, give him the three Oqyahs which I handed to thee.' Then he came down and went home. On Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday he mounted the pulpit and preached as follows: 'O ye people, verily between God the Most High and yourselves there is nothing by which you may obtain something or ward off evil, except [good] works. O ye people, no one is to lay false claims, or to wish for anything but the truth. I swear by that God who has sent me in reality to mankind, that He rewards mankind for [good] works only, or from His mercy —glory be to Him! Had I, who am a prophet, committed sin, I would have perished.' Then he raised his hands and said: 'O God Most High, have I promulged Thy message or not?' This he repeated thrice, and came down, held the prayers, and afterwards sitting [a while] with the people, he went to the house of Omm Solmah, where he remained one or two days. Then Ssiddyqah came and

requested him to go to her house, actually taking him there; but the disease of his lordship increased.

The author of these pages states that the above account is that of the *Aa'lldmu-l-ward*, but all the U'lamá of biography and historiographers have a tradition of Ssiddyqah that she said: 'The beginning of the sickness of the apostle of God was in the house of Maymûnah, and when the day of my turn[418] arrived he came to my apartment. I also had the headache, and said, "O my head!" and he replied: "How would it be if thou wert to die before me, and I were to shroud and to bury thee, and to pray over thy body?" My jealousy, however, made me retort: "O apostle of God, this is thy wish, and I think that on the very day of my burial thou wouldst celebrate a wedding with another wife in my apartment." He smiled at this remark, and said: "But I exclaim, O my head!" These words implied that Ssiddyqah would recover, but that his lordship would die of his malady.

Ssiddyqah continues: 'After that the apostle of God returned to the house of Maymûnah, and his disease augmented.' It is related that while in the house of Maymûnah his lordship was overpowered by his malady, and that the mothers of the Musalmâns [*i.e.*, his wives] hastened to wait upon him, desiring to be his nurses; but he several times repeated the words: 'Where shall I be to-morrow?' They ascertained that he desired to go to the apartment of Ssiddyqah, and all assented. There is, however, also an opinion current that the prophet—u. w. b.—uttered the above words as if asking permission from the ladies, sitting in the chambers of modesty, to go to the house of Ssiddyqah. At all events, his pure spouses having assented to his wish, his lordship departed from the house of Maymûnah, leaning with one hand on A'bbas, and with the other on A'li the Commander of the Faithful, trailing his blessed feet along the ground, till he reached the house of

418 It is well known that Musalmâns cohabit with their wives by turns according to a certain routine. For Hindu customs in this matter see the 'Kama Sutra' of Vatsyayana.

Ssiddyqah, where he fell asleep on the couch of debility. Some allege that his lordship was taken up in his *Redá*, and conveyed to the [various] apartments of the mothers of the Musalmâns, as he had been accustomed to go at the time when he visited each of them in her turn. A'bdullah B. O'mar says that Ssiddyq had requested the apostle of God to be allowed to nurse him in sickness, but his lordship replied: 'O Abu Bakr, if I allow others besides my wives to take care of me during my malady, their calamity will be greater; but thy reward is with Allah the Most High and Glorious.'

Omm Solmah says: 'The apostle of God during his sickness tied a turban on his blessed head, mounted the pulpit, and first implored pardon for the martyrs of Ohod, and after that he ordered the doors of the houses of the companions which faced the mosque to be shut, except that of A'li—u. w. b.—saying: "I cannot do without his company, nor he without mine." O'mar, however, said: "O apostle of God, wilt thou permit me to leave only a crevice, large enough to see thy coming out from thy house through the hole?" His lordship being disinclined to consent, one of the friends asked: "O apostle of God, what was the reason for ordering the doors to be opened, and afterwards to be shut?" And his lordship said: "They were neither opened nor shut by my orders."'

Ssiddyqah says: 'In the agony of his disease, the apostle of God sometimes moaned and sometimes rolled on his side, whereon I said: "O apostle of God, if any of us were to do such things thou wouldst surely become angry." He replied: "O A'ayshah, my disease is extremely violent. Verily, God the Most High and Glorious sends heavy and great calamities upon Musalmâns and virtuous persons; nor is there a single believer whom evil does not befall, were it only as much as a thorn in his foot; but for that reason God the Most High exalts His dignity."' There is also a tradition that Ssiddyqah said: 'I had never seen a more violent distemper than that of the apostle of God.' It is related that one of the companions said: 'I paid a

visit to the prophet, and on that occasion he was covered with a *Qottyfah*,[419] which I touched, and found so warm that I could not feel his body, whereat I was so astonished that I exclaimed: "Praise be to Allah!" And his lordship said: "No persons suffer greater calamities than prophets; and their misery being double, their reward is likewise so. God the Most High and Glorious had so tried some of them with poverty and want that they possessed but one garment for wear either in the day or night. The joy of some of them was, nevertheless, greater in their misfortune than your joy [in your prosperity].''

The mother of Bashar B. Barâ says: 'During the mortal disease of the apostle of God I was at his bedside, and he had a burning fever. I said: "O apostle of God, I never saw anyone having such a fever." He replied: "It is because my reward will be double." Then he asked: "O mother of Bashar, what are the people saying with reference to my malady?" I replied: "The people imagine that the blessed body of the apostle of God suffers from pleurisy." He observed: "It is not in conformity with the favour and beneficence of God the Most High and Glorious to subject His apostle to that disease, because that malady is one of the tricks of Satan, and Satan has no power over me; but this sickness is a sequel of the poisoned meat which I ate with thy son in Khayber. These pains I have repeatedly felt, but now the time is at hand when the thread of my life will be cut in twain."'

There is a tradition of A'bdullah B. Masu'd, that one month before his decease his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—had assembled his companions in the apartment of Ssiddyqah, and said: 'God the Most High and Blessed salutes you, bestows His mercy on you, keeps you, destroys anything that may injure you, cares for your sustenance, presents you with everything advantageous in the religion and in the world, grants you a place in the shadow of His protection, preserving you from all calamities and evils. I recommend you to be abstemious, and to beware of the evil

[419] Velvet, satin, and also a species of carpet.

consequences of heedlessness. I pray to Allah to guard you, and I make Him—whose magnificence be glorified—my successor over you. I recommend you to fear God the Most High, whose apostle I am. Do not oppress or injure believers; for God has warned me and you of the "eternal world" till the end of the verse.'[420] He also said: 'Is not the habitation of the proud in hell?' When he had finished his injunctions, I asked: 'O apostle of God, when will the time of thy departure be?' He replied: 'It is near at hand. The time to separate from my companions and to meet the Lord of lords, and the mansion of recompense, has arrived.' I asked: 'O apostle of God, who will wash thee?' He said: 'The men of my family nearest related to me.' I continued: 'Of what shall we make thy winding-sheet?' He said: 'Wrap me in the same clothes which I have now on my body, or in Egyptian garments, or in a Yemeni dress.' I continued: 'Who shall pray over thee?' And, being overpowered by my feelings, I wept. The apostle of God also wept, and said: 'Be ye quiet and not confused, for God will have mercy with the efforts you made in the cause of religion for the apostle of the Lord of both worlds, and will reward you. When you have washed me you must wrap me in funeral garments, place me on a stage, leave the latter on the margin of the grave, and recede therefrom for an hour, because the first to pray over my body will be Jebrâil—u. w. b.—after him Mykâyl—u. w. b.—then Esrâfil—u. w. b.—then A'zrayil—u. w. b. [about these see Index, Part 1, Vol. I., of this series]—and then the host of angels. Allow afterwards the crowds of the people to approach and to pray. The men of my family are to begin to pray for me, then the women of my family, and after that yourselves. Salute my absent friends, and greet all who will embrace my religion from this day till the day of the resurrection.' Abu Sa'yd Hadhary says that in his mortal sickness the apostle of God came out one day from the

[420] The two words 'eternal world' were not sufficient to enable one to find the precise chapter and verse, because they occur so often in the Quran.

apartment of A'ayshah, mounted the pulpit, preached a sermon, and, exhorting his companions on that occasion, said: 'God the Most High and Glorious has given to His servant the choice between this world and His reward, but he has selected the latter.' At these words Abu Bakr commenced to weep, and we wondered what occasion there was for crying at this information; at last, however, we learnt that he had by his high intellect and penetration understood that the servant here meant was the prophet himself. He also said in that sermon: 'Verily, had I taken a friend besides my Creator, I would have selected Abu Bakr for my friend. Brotherhood, however, in Islâm is a perfect advantage, and this rank and dignity he has attained.' It is related of Ssiddyqah that she said: 'In manners, behaviour, and excellent qualities I have never seen a person resembling the apostle of God—u. w. b.—more than Fattimah—u. w. b.—and whenever she paid him a visit he rose to honour her, went to meet her, and caused her to take her seat in his own place. When the apostle of God visited Fattimah—u. w. b.—she acted in the same manner towards him. In his last sickness he called his beloved daughter, and when Fattimah—u. w. b.—approached his lordship, the apostle of God said, 'Welcome, my daughter,' seated her by his side, and whispered something into her ear which made her cry; but thereon the apostle of God again secretly conversed with her, and she smiled as if pleased.' A'ayshah relates: 'On that occasion I said to Fattimah: "I never saw grief so quickly changed to joy as now. What is the reason for it?" Fattimah, however, refused to yield any information, and said: "I shall not reveal the secret of the prophet—u. w. b." When the apostle of God had departed from this perishable to the imperishable world, I asked her: "What were the words the apostle had spoken to thee?" She replied: "On the first occasion he said: 'Jebrâil used to recite the Qurân to me once every year; this year, however, he has done so ten times, and I think my death is at hand.' Therefore I cried. On the second occasion he said: 'Thou wilt be the

first person of my family who will meet me.' At these words I rejoiced."' Some allege that the prince of this world—u. w. b.—uttered both the above sentiments in the first conversation with Fattimah, and that he said in the second: 'Art thou not willing to be the princess of the women inhabiting paradise?' After that he said: 'Jebrâil has informed me that no Musalmân woman will enjoy higher dignity than my daughter.'

The U'lamâ of biographies have related that at the time when the sickness of the apostle of Allah increased, and the companions assembled in his apartment, he exclaimed: 'Bring an inkstand, with a sheet, that I may write[421] something which will never be lost after me.' Some desired to comply with this order, while others said: 'Will the words be like those he utters from the violence of his disease, or serious ones?' O'mar said: 'Pain and suffering have overpowered the apostle of God, and we possess the Qurân which we approve of.' Many agreed with the opinion of O'mar, while others insisted on the production of the writing materials asked for, so that a dispute arose, which was carried on with great confusion and noise. Hereon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said: 'Go away from me; for it is unseemly to quarrel in the presence of a prophet.' He nevertheless added: 'I enjoin you three things: The first is, that you expel the idolaters from Mesopotamia; the second is, that when you are visited by deputations [Wofûd] of Arabs, you make them presents, as I was in the habit of doing.' Suleymân, who has his account from Sa'yd B. Jobayr, says: 'I know that Sa'yd B. Jobayr did not think proper to divulge the third injunction, although he excused himself by saying: "The cobwebs of oblivion are impairing my mind."' A'bbâs says: 'It was a great misfortune that some of the companions would not allow the apostle of God to write his last will.' There is a tradition that when his holy and prophetic lordship—

[421] Som European authors, and among them also Dr. A Sprenger, have from the above words, as well as from other indications, drawn the conclusion that the prophet was not only able to read, but also to write.

u. w. b.—was overpowered by disease, he said: 'Pour on me water from seven bags, filled from seven wells, and mayhap I shall be relieved and go out of the house to exhort the people.' This having been actually done, that prince felt relieved, went out from the house, and held prayers with the people, preached a sermon, and after having offered praises to the Most High, he asked pardon for the martyrs of Ohod, whereon he continued: 'Verily the Anssâr are my intimate friends. Honour those of them who are good, and forgive those who are bad. I swear by Allah, in whose power my life is, that I love them. They have done their duty; they have acted honestly and bravely.' Some historians narrate that when the Anssâr perceived the disease of his holy and prophetic lordship increasing day by day, they were distressed and confused, so that most of them roamed, with heavy hearts and blood-shot eyes, around the mosque of his lordship, because they were unable quietly to remain in their houses, and to withdraw the feet of gravity under the skirts of patience. A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb with his son Fadzl, and A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—entered the august apartment after each other, and informed his lordship of what was going on. The apostle of God thereon erected himself and sat upright on the couch by the aid of his friends, and asked what the Anssâr were saying. A'li B. Abu Ttâleb replied: 'The Anssâr say: "We are afraid and terrified that the apostle of God will leave this world, and we do not know what will become of us."' When the sentiments of the Anssâr had become known to the prince of the righteous, he rose, and placing one of his hands upon the back of A'li —u. w. b.—and the other upon that of Fadzl, he trailed his blessed feet along the ground, and was preceded by A'bbâs. They walked in this way till they entered the mosque, where the prophet sat down on the first step of the pulpit. When the Musalmâns heard of this, they assembled in the mosque; and after he had praised, glorified, and thanked God the Most High, he spoke as follows: 'O my people, I hear that you fear I shall die. Is there any

prophet who remained alive for ever, that I should likewise remain with you for ever? Be it known unto you that I and you must return to God the Most High and Glorious. I enjoin you to act kindly towards the first Mohâjer. I recommend the Mohâjer and yourselves to live amicably with each other.' Then he recited the Sûrah *Wala'ssir*,[422] and said: 'All well-ordered affairs and their success depend upon the permission of Allah the Most High. Let nothing induce you to act hastily in any matter, because the Lord, whose name be blessed and exalted, is rash in nothing and for no one. Whoever attempts to overcome the decree of Allah the Most High will be overcome thereby, and whoever tries to deceive Allah the Most High will himself be deceived and disappointed.' He recited also the blessed verse: 'Were ye ready, if you had been put in authority, to act wickedly on earth and to deny your relatives?'[423] Then he said: 'O ye Mohâjer, I recommend you to deal kindly and amicably with the Anssâr; for they have kept ready for you the place of your flight and the locality of our exile, namely, Madinah, and have professed the Faith before you met them. They shared with you their gardens and the fruits thereof. They received you in their houses and gave you places in their lands. They preferred to relieve your necessities rather than their own, and jeopardized their lives for you. Let any man who becomes their governor be the friend of those who treat them well, and disregard the wishes of those who bear them ill-will.' Then he continued: 'O ye Anssâr, after my decease other people will be preferred to you.' The Anssâr asked: 'O apostle of God, how shall we deal with them?' He replied: 'Be patient until you join me on the bank of the Kawthar.' When the conversation had reached this stage, A'bbâs requested permission to speak, and said: 'O apostle of God, issue orders also with reference to the Qoraish.' His lordship said: 'I enjoin the Qoraish to obey my successor;

[422] Chapter ciii. of the Qurân, 'The afternoon,' which consists of three short verses only.

[423] Qurân, ch. xlvii. 24.

the people to obey the Qoraish; the good and the virtuous to follow the good and the virtuous; and the bad and the wicked to follow the bad and the wicked.' After these delightful sentiments he added a few injunctions to the Qoraish, and then returned to his august apartment. Fadzl B. A'bbâs says: 'During the time the apostle of God was sick, he one day wrapped his head in a turban, took me by the hand, left the house, went to the mosque, ascended the pulpit, ordered Ballâl to assemble the people, and said: "I desire to exhort the Musalmâns, tell them therefore, This is the last injunction of the apostle of God with reference to you." Ballal obeyed, and promulged in the public places of Madinah the orders he had received. When the people heard the voice of Ballâl and his invitation, they left their houses and shops open as they were, and hastened to wait on the prince of the world. The young and the old, the small and the tall, hastened to the mosque, where the crowd was so large that scarcely two persons more could have entered it. After his lordship had offered praises and thanks to God the Most High, he said: "I shall soon depart from among you; let everyone whom I have injured in body or mind arise and plead for retaliation, and let everyone to whom I owe any money take it from my property, and let no one say: 'I am afraid that if I take revenge the apostle of God will hate me and will be my enemy.' Such is not my nature. I am far from harbouring such feelings. I love him most who requires me to pay him what I owe him, or who absolves me from all liability, that I may depart to the forgiving Sovereign with a free and spotless conscience, and I believe you will not disapprove of what I have now uttered."' Fadzl continues: 'After these words he came down from the pulpit, held the matutinal prayers, ascended the pulpit again, and reiterated his former challenge, whereon a man arose and said: "O apostle of God, thou owest me three dirhems." That prince replied: "I do not think thou art a liar, nor do I wish anyone to swear an oath who proffers such

claims, but tell me how I owe thee these dirhems." The man said: "O apostle of God, one day a poor man spoke to thee, and thou hast ordered me to give him three dirhems." His lordship then said: "Fadzl, give him three dirhems." After that his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said: "O ye men, let every one who owes me anything pay it to-day, and do not let him say: 'I am ashamed of the scorn of the world,' for the scorn of this world is easily endured, but not that of the next." On this occasion a man rose, and said: "I have unjustly appropriated three dirhems for my own use from the spoils." Being asked why he had done this, he said: "I was in want of money." The prophet continued: "Fadzl, take that sum from him." He then said: "Let any man who is subject to the qualities worthy of blame inform me of them, that I may pray for him." Accordingly an individual rose, and said: "O apostle of God, I am a liar, a profligate, and addicted to much sleep." He exclaimed: "O God, present him with veracity, and dispel his sleep whenever he desires to indulge therein." Then another man rose, and said: "O apostle of God, I am a liar and a hypocrite, nor is there any sinful act which I have not perpetrated." Here O'mar interrupted him, saying: "O man, thou hast disgraced thyself." But his lordship said: "It is more easy to support disgrace in this world than in the next. O God Most High, make him veracious and give him Faith. Turn his heart from evil to good." Then O'mar uttered something, which made him smile and say: "O'mar is with me and I with O'mar, and the truth is with O'mar wherever he may be."'

A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—said: 'In his last sickness the prophet issued his injunctions, and when he had terminated them the Sûrah "When the aid of Allah shall come"[424] was revealed, and I said: "O apostle of God, this injunction seems to be valedictory." He replied: "Yes, O A'li, for my heart is distressed in this world." Then he sat down, closed his eyes awhile, and

[424] Qurân, ch. cx., which is very short.

when he again awoke he said: "O Jebrâil, aid me, and fulfil thy promise." After that he called me near himself, placed his head in my lap; his august countenance was changed, and his open forehead perspired amply. Fattimah, who saw what was taking place, jumped up distressed, took the hands of Hasan and Husayn, and exclaimed: "O my father, who will after thy decease cast a glance of pity at the state of thy daughter Fattimah? Who will cherish thy grandsons Hasan and Husayn? Who will instruct A'li? Who will deal with the people that will come from various countries? O father, may my life be a sacrifice for thine! Woe to my ears which will never hear thy sweet speech, and to my eyes which will never behold thy pleasant countenance!" When his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—heard the groans and lamentations of Fattimah—u. w. b.—he opened his eyes, called her, placed his blessed head on the bosom of his beloved daughter, and said: "O God Most High, vouchsafe patience to Fattimah." Then he said: "O Fattimah, I congratulate thee, for thou wilt join me before any other person. O light of my eyes, thy father is in the agony of death." Fattimah then began to weep and to lament aloud, losing all her self-possession.' A'li continues: 'I said: "O Fattimah, be quiet, and do not strew salt on the wound of the apostle of God." That prince, however, said: "Allow her to shed tears for her father." Then he closed his propitious eyes. Fattimah—u. w. b.—said to Hasan and Husayn: "Arise, and go to your dear [grand] father; perhaps he may give you some advice."' According to another tradition, however, she said: "Mayhap he will give you something which will pacify your hearts." The two darlings then approached the apostle of God by the advice of their mother, and Hasan asked: "O my noble grandfather, how can we endure being separated from thee, and to whom can we confide our distress? Who will, after thy departure, show kindness to me, to my mother, to my father, and to my brother? Who will treat the people and thy wives as kindly as thou wast accustomed to do, and who will take

care of them?" At these words the mothers of the believers, who were present near the bedside of that prince, raised a shout of distress.

A'li B. Abu Ttâleb says: 'I wept from grief, and a number of the companions, who were in attendance at the door of the apartment, as steadfastly as the ring attached to [the door of] it, exclaimed: "O Muhammad, who will console thy people when thou art gone?" They said: "O A'li, open the door, that we may once more behold the propitious countenance of the apostle of God, and cast a glance at the world-adorning pulchritude thereof." The apostle of God, hearing the shrieks and lamentations of the companions, said: "O A'li, open the door for my friends." I obeyed; whereon the principal Mohâjer and Anssâr entered, whom his lordship immediately admonished to be patient and quiet, saying: "Ye are the cream of the people, and the essence of the inhabitants of the world. Although your appearance on earth happened to be the last of all nations, your entrance into paradise will take place before all the others. Be ye steadfast and constant in keeping the ordinances of God, make the Qurân your guide, and do not neglect the commandments of the religion." Then he said: "O God, I have finished." He closed his blessed eyes, drops of perspiration appeared on his august countenance, and I made a sign to the companions to leave the apartment. Hereon A'ayshah asked for advice, and he said: "O A'ayshah, you must remain quietly in your houses and be patient, as God the Most High says, 'And your houses.'" Uttering these words he wept, so that the tears of his lordship kindled the fire of misfortune in the hearts of all who were present, and Omm Solmah asked: "As all thy sins are forgiven, why weepest thou?" He replied: "Indeed, I wept from compassion for my people." Then he congratulated Fattimah, and she asked him: "Where shall I find thee on the day of the greatest fear [*i.e.*, on the day of the resurrection]?" His lordship said: "Thou wilt find me at the tree beneath the flag of Ahmad, whilst I shall be engaged in praying to

the Merciful One, to forgive all nations." She asked: "If I do not find thee there, where shall I seek thee?" He replied: "Near the bridge Sserätt, when I shall be standing there to pray for them and to plead for their safety."[425] She continued: "If I cannot find thee there either, where must I seek thee?" He said: "Near the Balance, where I shall be engaged in praying for peace." She continued: "If I do not meet thee in that place either, where will you be?" He rejoined: "On the brink of hell, where I shall be standing to ward off the calamity of fire from my people." Fattimah having thus been comforted, he closed his propitious eyes again. Next morning, at dawn, Ballâl shouted the [usual] call to prayers, and his lordship said: "Go, that everyone who likes may pray." After he had thrice repeated these words, Ballal said aloud: "Come to prayers; may Allah have mercy on thee!" He, however, replied: "Let me alone, for I am in my last struggle and agony of death!"'

It is related that during his sickness, when the time of prayers was at hand, his lordship used to send out Ballâl until he himself arrived to pray with the people. In his last sickness, however, he was, on account of the great violence thereof, unable to leave the house for three days; and there is a tradition that in his last sickness his lordship omitted seventeen public prayers. Some allege that at the time of the dormitory prayers Ballâl went to the door of the apartment of the apostle of God, and exclaimed: 'Prayers, O apostle of God!' but that his lordship was too sick to come. Those of the Sonna[426] maintain that he

[425] For their safety, that they may not fall into hell from this bridge, which is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword, but pass over it into paradise. The *Sserätt* is the *Chinavat* bridge of the Zoroastrians.

[426] The Turks and the majority of Arabs are Sunnis, but the Persians Shia'hs. The Sonna is what the prophet generally observed, and sometimes omitted. If the said general observance relates to religion it is called the 'Sonna of guidance'; if to common things it is called 'Sonna of excess.' By the Sonna of guidance the religion is perfected; its omission entails guilt and wickedness. The taking of the Sonna of excess, for a guide, namely, the observance of it, is good, but its omission entails neither guilt nor wickedness, such as, *e.g.*, the habits of the prophet in rising, sitting, dressing, and eating.

said: 'Tell Abu Bakr to pray with the people.' A'ayshah, however, said: 'Abu Bakr is in a state of great distress and melancholy. When he stands in thy place and begins to recite the prayers he will be overpowered by his tears. Therefore he is unable to lead the prayers. How would it be if thou wert to entrust O'mar with this duty?' Although A'ayshah repeated this suggestion several times, his lordship insisted, saying: 'Tell Abu Bakr to hold the prayers,' but the responsibility rests with the narrator. When A'ayshah perceived that her wish would not be complied with, she instigated Hafssah, the daughter of O'mar, to say to the apostle of God: 'Order O'mar to hold the prayers with the people.' He, however, again rejoined: 'Tell Abu Bakr to hold the prayers with the people!' After his holy and prophetic lordship had intimated his wish that Abu Bakr should hold the prayers, two men went out to Ballâl and informed him of it. The latter thereon returned weeping and crying aloud: 'Would to God I had died before this time, instead of seeing the apostle of God in this condition!' Then Shâ Omm Abu went to Abu Bakr, and said: 'The command has gone forth from the court of prophecy that you pray with the people.' Accordingly Abu Bakr rose with the intention to pray, but when he looked at the Mahrâb[427] and saw that the prince of existences—u. w. b.—was not there, he wept so violently that he fainted, and the wailings and lamentations of the congregation were so awful that the Mahrâb and pulpit groaned from pain; and how beauteous is the saying:

Distich: In my prayers I remembered the arch of thy eyebrow;
I lost my senses, and even the Mahrâb groaned!

When the tumult of the companions had reached the august hearing, he asked Fattimah Zohrâ: 'What noise is this?' She replied: 'O apostle of God, thy friends are weeping for being separated from thee.' Then his lordship called A'li B. Abu Ttâleb and A'bbâs B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb,

[427] The principal spot in the mosque, where the Emâm prays and leads the devotions with his face turned towards Mekkah.

and, leaning upon them, proceeded to the mosque, where he held prayers, and, after terminating them, said: 'O my people, ye are under the protection and guardianship of Allah, whose name be glorified! May the Lord most high be my successor over you. You are to be pious, fearing the Lord most high, obeying and honouring Him; and I am about to depart from this world.' In some traditions—and the responsibility rests with their narrators—we read that when Ballál had informed the apostle of God of the time for prayers being at hand, the prophet ordered A'bdullah B. Rabya'h to tell the people to hold the prayers. He obeyed, and when he came out from the apartment he met O'mar, to whom he said: 'Hold the prayers with the people.' O'mar accordingly went to the Mahrâb, and began to lead the prayers; but when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—heard the recitation of O'mar, he asked: 'Is not that the voice of O'mar?' The persons near him replied: 'Yes.' Then he said: 'God will do this to the believers,' and, putting out his head from the window of the apartment, he thrice repeated with his wonderfully eloquent tongue the words: 'No; Abu Bakr must hold prayers with the people.' This, however, is the assertion of the adherents of the Sonna. O'mar, therefore, stopped praying, and asked A'bdullah B. Rabya'h: 'Has not his lordship told thee that I am to hold the prayers with the congregation?' He replied: 'His lordship has mentioned no name, but as I have not seen Abu Bakr among the friends, I told thee to lead the prayers, because I considered thee to be more fit for that office than the others.' O'mar rejoined: 'I knew not that such was the case, or else I would not have undertaken to officiate.'

It is related that one day during the last sickness of the apostle of God—u. w. b.—A'li came out from that prince, and that the companions asked him: 'How is the apostle of God to-day?' He replied: 'Thanks be to Allah, he is in the best condition.' A'bbâs, however, taking hold of A'li's hand, whispered to him: 'After three days the prophet—u. w. b.—will reach the propinquity of the mercy

of the Lord of both worlds, because I perceive the sign of death upon him. It will, therefore, be proper for us to go to him, and to ask him who is to be his successor. Should he appoint one of ourselves, it will be all well and good, but if it be another, we must have a compact with him.' A'li, however, refused to agree to this proposal, and said: 'If we are not admitted at present to the successorship, we shall never obtain it afterwards. I swear by Allah that I shall not put this question to his lordship nor covet the honours of this world.'

It is related that the apostle of God sometimes fainted during his malady, and that on one of these occasions his pure spouses administered to him medicine which they poured into his blessed mouth, and it gave him no pain. When, however, he had recovered from his fit, he learnt what had taken place, and asked of what the medicine consisted. They replied: 'Of a little Indian aloe, some saffron, and a drop of oil.' He continued: 'Who told you to do this?' They said: 'Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys, who also said that this was a fever which had come to you from Abyssinia.' His lordship rejoined: 'What disease do you think I have, that you give me this medicine?' They said: 'We feared it was the pleurisy.' He said: 'That disease is from Satan, and God the Most High has not surrendered me to the power of Satan. Therefore every person whom I now see in this room must swallow some of that medicine, except A'bbâs, whom I excuse.' Accordingly, by the command of that prince, all the women poured the medicine into each other's mouths, and would not excuse even Maymûnah, although she was fasting at that time.

It is related that three days before the death of his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—Jebrâil came down [from heaven] and said: 'O Muhammad, the Creator greets thee, but asks thee about a matter He knows better than thou. He asks thee how thou feelest?' His lordship replied: 'O faithful spirit of God, I am unhappy and suffering.' After two or three days Jebrâil came again, and a conversation

took place between them as before. On the third day Jebrâil again made his appearance at the door of the august apartment, with Esma'il [Ishmael], who is the commander of seventy thousand angels, and with A'zrayil. When Jebrâil had finished his questions, he said: 'Behold, the angel of death is standing at the door, and asking permission to enter, nor has such a thing ever happened to anyone before thee, neither will it happen after thee.' His lordship said: 'O Jebrâil, allow him to enter.' The angel of death, having obtained admittance, entered, saluted, and said: 'O Muhammad, Allah the Most High has sent me to wait on thee and not to disobey thee. If thou wilt allow me, I shall take hold of thy pure soul and shall convey it to the upper world, or else I shall return [without it].' The apostle of God looked at Jebrâil as to what he should say, and the Faithful Spirit spoke: 'O Muhammad, God the Most High is anxious to see thee.' Accordingly, the apostle of God beckoned to A'zrayil to execute the behest he had received, and Jebrâil said to his lordship: 'Farewell, Ahmad! Henceforth I shall no more alight on earth to bring revelations or messages from the Most High, whose name be glorified. On thy account alone I visited the world.'

For thee we travel,
Secrets to unravel;
Speak only for thee,
Or silent remain we.

A'bdullah B. A'bbâs relates that on the day when his lordship the apostle died, God the Most High and Glorious had spoken to A'zrayil as follows: 'Descend from heaven to earth; go to my favourite, Muhammad, but take care not to accost him discourteously, or to grasp his soul without his permission.' Accordingly, the angel of death departed with one thousand celestial spirits of his assistants, all of them being mounted on piebald horses, and wearing garments encrusted with precious gems, and arrived in our world after traversing the proper distance. A'zrayil assumed the form of an Arab, halted at the door of the apartment of the apostle of God, and said: 'Salutation

to thee, chief of the prophets and mine of apostleship! Will you allow me to enter, may the mercy of Allah be upon you?' On that occasion Fattimah, who was sitting at the bedside of his lordship, replied: 'The apostle of God is engaged with his own condition, and it is impossible to meet him.' The angel of death then again asked for permission and received the same answer; the third time, however, he asked for admittance in so loud a voice that everyone present in the sacred dwelling trembled for fear on account of the dreadfulness thereof. Thereon the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—who had been in a trance, recovered consciousness, opened his blessed eyes, and asked: 'What is the matter with you?' Having been informed of what had taken place, he asked: 'O Fattimah, wast thou aware to whom thou hast spoken?' She replied: 'God and His apostle know it best.' He continued: 'This is the angel of death, the destroyer of pleasures, the terminator of aspirations and of hopes. He disperses assemblies, makes orphans of children, and widows of wives.' Fattimah rejoined: 'O father, the city is destroyed!' He then took her hand, pressed it to his blessed bosom, and kept his eyes closed for a long time, so that those who were present thought his noble spirit had taken flight to the throne of the Almighty, and Fattimah, placing her mouth to the ear of that prince, whispered, 'O my father!' but, receiving no answer, continued: 'O my father, may my life be a sacrifice for thine! Consider my state, and speak one word to me.' Thereon his holy and prophetic lordship opened his eyes, and said: 'O my daughter, cease to weep, for the bearers of the throne are weeping because thou weepest.' Then he wiped, with his blessed hand, the tears from the face of his beloved daughter. Trying to pacify her, and to impart glad tidings to her, he said: 'O God, vouchsafe fortitude to her, that she may bear our separation.' Then he said to her: 'When my spirit is being grasped [by the angel of death], pronounce the words: "We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall

surely return."[428] O Fattimah! whatever calamity befalls a man, he will be requited for it.' Fattimah, however, rejoined: 'O apostle of God, what person, or what thing, could be an equivalent for the loss of thee?' After that his lordship again closed his eyes, and Fattimah continued: 'O father!' The apostle of God replied: 'Hereafter thy father will be subject to no affliction nor pain; because every grief to which human beings are subject depends upon their connection with their mortal bodies; this, however, is now about to be dissolved, and the words "Return to thy Lord willingly or not" have reached my ears, O my soul! After these words it would be a shame to remain a denizen of this earth. Thou wilt hasten to be received into the propinquity of the mercy of the Lord of both worlds, wilt behold and enjoy all the blessings of paradise, and wilt suffer neither pain nor grief any more.' In fine, when the apostle of God—u. w. b.—had terminated his allocution to Fattimah Zohrá—u. w. b.—A'ayshah approached, and requested him to impart to her his last wish, whereon he said: 'O A'ayshah, I have imparted it to thee yesterday, and it is the same to-day. Walk according to the commandments of God the Most High, and remember me.' A'ayshah most readily assented to, and even forestalled, all the injunctions of his lordship. Then Hafssah approached him, and he spoke to her in the same manner as to A'ayshah. After that he said to his darling Fattimah: 'Bring thy sons. She then led Hasan and Husayn to the apostle of God. They saluted him and remained standing opposite to him. When, however, they had contemplated their noble grandfather in this condition, they wept very loudly, and the tongue of the circumstances expressed the feelings of both in the following distich:

I die—not to see him—for fear;
God forbid that he should disappear.

They cried so much that all present were moved to tears. The Emâm Hasan placed his face on the blessed countenance of his lordship the best of men, and the Emâm Husayn

[428] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

laid his head on the bosom of that prince. The apostle of God opened his blessed eyes, looked mercifully and compassionately on them, fondling and kissing them, and enjoined everyone to love them. After that he ordered A'li into his presence, who obeyed, and sat down near his couch. The apostle raised his head from the pillow, the Lord A'li approached, reclined with his head upon the blessed hand of the prophet, and his lordship the refuge of termination—u. w. b.—said: 'O A'li, I am indebted to such and such a Jew, for such and such a sum of money, which I have borrowed from him, to fit out the expedition under Asâmah. I beseech thee to repay him. O A'li, the first person who will meet me on the lake Kawthar wilt be thou. After my demise many afflictions will come; grieve not, however, but rather be patient and suffer. When thou beholdest the people coveting the goods of this world, aspire thou to the blessings of the next.'

In some traditions it is related that his holy and prophetic lordship asked for writing materials from A'li—u. w. b.—but the Commander, fearing he might expire before he carried out his intention, said: 'O apostle of God, give me any orders thou likest, because I am able to remember them.' His lordship then said: 'The prayers which your right hands possess.[420]

There is a tradition of Jâber B. A'bdullah the Anssary that during the Khalifate of O'mar, Ka'bu-l-akhbâr asked him: 'O'mar, what were the last words spoken by the apostle before he died?' O'mar replied: 'Ask A'li B. Abu Ttâleb.' Ka'b accordingly questioned A'li, who replied: 'When his lordship reclined on my breast, and placed his head on my shoulder, he said: "The prayers! The prayers!"' And Ka'b rejoined: 'This is the last injunction of prophets. They are commanded to do so, and their mission amounts to this.' A'li continued: 'When the apostle of God uttered these words, and the saliva from

420 This phrase is precisely the same as one where the laws of marriage are laid down, only in lieu of *prayers which your right hands possess*, we read, *maid-servants which your right hands possess*.—See Qurân, ch. iv. 29.

his blessed mouth fell upon me, his condition became suddenly changed, and I was grieved to see him in that state; I therefore called out to A'bbâs: "Help me!" He accordingly approached me, and we laid that prince down on his couch.'

We read in some biographical works that when A'zrayîl entered the sacred mansion in the form of an Arab, he said: 'Salutation to thee, O prophet! God the Most High and Glorious sends thee His greeting, and orders me not to grasp thy soul without thy consent till Jebrâil arrives.' Then the Lord of Glory spoke to the possessor of hell as follows: 'The pure spirit of my friend Muhammad is about to be conveyed to heaven. Extinguish the fire of hell!' To the Hûris with large eyes the following revelation was communicated: 'Adorn yourselves. For the soul of Muhammad will arrive.' The denizens of the altitudes, and the dwellers in the upper world, were ordered to stand in lines, and the Faithful Spirit [Jebrâil] received the following order: 'Go to the earth, to Muhammad my favourite.' Jebrâil obeyed, and made his appearance weeping at the bedside of the prophet, whereon his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—said to him: 'My friend, wilt thou abandon me in this condition?' Jebrâil replied: 'O Muhammad, I congratulate thee, for I have brought thee news which will please thee.' His lordship asked: 'What good news hast thou brought?' He replied: 'The fire of hell has been extinguished, the gardens of paradise have been adorned, the Hûris with large eyes are decorated, and the angels are drawn up standing in lines, and waiting for the advent of thy soul.' His lordship replied: 'This is all well and good, but tell me something that will rejoice and delight my soul.' Jebrâil continued: 'None of the prophets nor any of their followers are allowed to go to paradise until thou and thy people have entered it.' His lordship said: 'Increase my joy.' And Jebrâil said: 'O Muhammad, the Lord Most High, whose name be blessed and exalted, will grant thee several things, which He has not vouchsafed to bestow on any of the noble prophets;

the lake Kawthar; the laudable spot; intercession for thy people will be granted to thee, and on the morn of the resurrection many of thy adherents will be restored to thee to rejoice thee.' The apostle of God said: 'Now my heart has become glad, and my eyes lit up.' Then he turned his face to A'zrayil, and said: 'Come nearer, and do what thou hast been ordered to do.' The angel having thus obtained permission from his lordship, engaged in the operation of severing his lordship's pure spirit from his body. When the agony of death had so overcome him that the hue of his blessed countenance sometimes turned red and sometimes yellow, he dipped his hand into a cup of water which was near him, passed it over his face, and said: 'O God, help me in my last agony!' As the perspiration covered his glorious face, he continued to wipe it off, sometimes with his right and sometimes with his left hand, until the governor of the city of life [*i.e.*, the soul] withdrew his hand from ruling his incomparable body.

It is related that when this prince was in his last agony he looked at the ceiling of the apartment, raised his hand, and said: 'The Most High is my Companion!' He then dropped his hand again, and departed to the eternal world. On that occasion the inmates of the nuptial chambers of modesty raised shrieks of lamentation and wailing. Fattimah Zohrâ said: 'Alas, my father, thou hast responded to the call of the Almighty! Alas, my father, the gardens of paradise are thy dwelling-place! Alas, my father, thy death makes Jebrâil exclaim: "O apostle of God! O prophet of mercy! We shall receive no more revelations!" Nor will Jebrâil visit us. O God Most High, cause the soul of Fattimah to join his soul! O God Most High, cause me to participate in the reward of Thy favourite, and do not exclude me on the day of the resurrection from his intercession!' And Saiddyqah cried aloud: Alas for the prophet who has preferred poverty to riches, and destitution to opulence!—

O my heart, truth teaches you
To prefer poverty to riches.

'Alas for the pious man who never slept during whole nights on the couch of rest from grief for the sins and transgressions of his people; who constantly practised patience, who never ceased to combat evil passions, who never gave a thought to forbidden things, who was never morose, who never closed the gates of beneficence and liberality against the poor and destitute! His brilliant teeth were broken by stones which his miserable foes had thrown at him! His forehead of happy presage was enveloped in the turban of the vicissitudes of the times! His blessed stomach was for two consecutive days deprived of the nourishment even of barley bread!'

It is related that when the holy soul of his lordship had departed from his unparalleled body, the males of the family entered the august apartment, and a curtain was suspended between them and the ladies. A voice, the owner of which could not be discovered, then uttered the following words: 'Salutation to you, O ye members of the family! The blessing and mercy of God be on you! All who live must die, but you shall receive your reward for all your calamities and misfortunes from the Supreme Judge. Be comforted, trust in the Lord, and take refuge with Him. Because, indeed, he only is struck by misfortune who is excluded from Divine favour.' When this allocution had ceased, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb—u. w. b.—asked the companions: 'Do you know the speaker?' They replied: 'No.' He said: 'It was Khizer,[430] who has brought us consolation.' It is related that when a number of companions, who were in the mosque, heard the wailings and lamentations of the females on account of the death of his lordship the refuge of termination, they were so confused that some became dumb, some mad, and some fell sick. It is on record that when his lordship the receptacle of the apostolate expired, O'mar B. Alkhattâb shouted to the people, and swore that the apostle of God had not died, but had fallen into a

[430] This prophet is alluded to in the words 'one of our servants' in Qurân, ch. xviii. 64. His soul is believed to have by metempsychosis passed successively through Phineas, Elias, and St. George. About his meeting with Moses see Part I., vol. i., of this series, pp. 371-377.

trance like Moses. He said: 'I swear by Allah that his lordship will yet remain alive in this world until he cuts off the tongues of the liars and hypocrites.'

There is also a tradition that the hypocrites of Madinah said: 'Had Muhammad been a prophet, he would not have died'; whereon O'mar, who had heard these words, drew his sword from the scabbard, took up his position at the door of the mosque, and exclaimed: 'I shall cut any man in twain who asserts that the apostle of God has departed from the perishable to the imperishable world.' When some professors of Islâm heard these words of O'mar, doubts arose in their minds whether his lordship had died or not. On that occasion Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys, placed her hands between the shoulders of the prophet—u. w. b.—could not find the seal of prophecy, and exclaimed: 'Verily the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—has taken leave of the perishable world, because the seal of prophecy has disappeared.' These words convinced many persons that this prince had departed from this world.

It is said that when his holy and prophetic lordship expired, Abu Bakr happened to be in his own house; but when he heard of the dreadful event he quickly departed, looked in the apartment of A'ayshah, and exclaimed: 'Alas for Muhammad! alas, he is dead!' He arrived weeping in the mosque of his lordship the refuge of termination, where he found the people in great distress. He looked at no one, but went to the house of A'ayshah, lifted the *Redâ* from the blessed countenance of the apostle of God, and kissed some of the limbs of his lordship, saying: 'Thou art to me like a father; thou art sweet whether living or dead.' Then he left the sacred mansion, and beheld O'mar standing among the people and shouting: 'The apostle of God has not died.' Abu Bakr then requested O'mar to sit down, but ineffectually; therefore he exclaimed: 'O man, verily the prophet has expired. Knowest thou not that God the Most High, whose name be praised, has said in the glorious Quran, "Verily thou wilt die, as they have died," and also, "We have not created any human being immortal before

thy time"? Verily he has died, and they are immortal [in the next world].' After that Abu Bakr mounted the pulpit of the best of men; the people left O'mar alone, and assembled around Abu Bakr, who first preached a sermon, commencing with the praises of God the Most-High, and regret for the decease of the prince of existences. Then he said: 'Be it known to those who worshipped Muhammad that he is verily dead; and be it known to those who worship God that Allah is eternal, and dies not.' After these words he recited the blessed verse, 'Muhammad is but an apostle, who was preceded by other apostles; and if he dies or is killed, will ye retrace your steps?'[431] till the end. He also repeated the verse, 'Verily thou [O Muhammad] wilt be dead, and they will be dead.' O'mar says: 'I swear by Allah that I imagined I had not heard this verse ere it was uttered by Abu Bakr; I began to tremble, and fell to the ground.' It is related that after the sermon of Abu Bakr the people were convinced that the apostle of God had expired, and therefore they exclaimed: 'We belong to Allah, and to Him we shall surely return.'[432] Then Abu Bakr endeavoured to console and to solace the members of the family, telling them that it was now their duty to wash, to shroud, to arrange, and to inter the body of his lordship. Then he hastened with O'mar and with Abu O'baydah Jurrâh to the Saqayfah[433] of the Bani Saa'd, because he had heard that the chief Anssar had assembled there for the purpose of appointing a successor [to Muhammad], as will be related afterwards.

THE WASHING AND SHROUDING OF HIS LORDSHIP, AND SOME OTHER MATTERS.

The U'lama of biographies—Allah have mercy on them! —narrate that when Abu Bakr went to the Saqayfah of the Bani Saa'd, A'bbâs—u. w. b.—ordered the door of the august apartment to be locked upon the people When they were about to commence washing the corpse, the

[431] Qurân, ch. iii. 138. [432] See footnote 428. [433] Temporary shed.

members of the family heard a voice exclaim without the chamber: 'Do not wash him; he is pure, and needs no ablution.' After this voice, however, they heard another: 'Wash him; for the first speaker was Eblis—the curse of God be on him!—but I am Khizer.' After that A'li and A'bbâs, with Fadzl and Qatham, the sons of the latter, and Asâmah B. Zayd, and Ssâleh, a manumitted slave of the lord of apostleship—u. w. b.—who was surnamed Shuqrân, besides whom there were no other men in the apartment, suspended a curtain of striped Yemeni cloth, took up the corpse of that prince, and carried it behind this curtain. On that occasion there arose a difference of opinion among them whether they ought to wash the apostle in his clothes, or whether they ought to undress him and wash him, like any other corpse. While they were discussing this question the Omnipotent Sovereign sent upon them such a sleep that all drooped their chins on their breasts, and from a corner of the room the voice of an invisible herald uttered the words: 'Do not make the apostle of Allah naked, but wash him in his garments.' As the members of the family knew this to be an allocution from the other world, they rose and began to wash the corpse.

Wâqidy has a tradition that when A'bbâs ordered the door to be locked upon the people, the Anssâr shouted from without the apartment: 'O ye members of the family, we are the brothers of the apostle; our relationship, connection, and intimacy with the apostle in all religious matters is evident and known to everyone. It is our desire that one of us be present with you, that we be not excluded from participating in your attendance upon his lordship, and from the felicity connected therewith' Some allege that Awus B. Khawly the Anssáry exclaimed: 'O A'li, we adjure thee by God the Most High and Glorious to allow me to enter.' And, making allowance for the discrepancy of the two traditions, he was admitted to the place where the corpse of his holy and prophetic lordship underwent ablution; but no one was allowed to take part therein.

It has been ascertained as authentic that the corpse of

his lordship was laid down on his face, so that his blessed head was turned to the east. A'li B. Abu'Ttáleb—u. b. w. —commenced the operation by pressing his lordship to his bosom, and then taking a towel, which he introduced between the blessed body and the garment, whilst Fadzl was holding up the latter, and keeping it separate therefrom. A'li the Commander of the Faithful then gently washed the propitious body, Asámah B. Zayd and Shuqrân poured the water, and A'bbás with Qatham turned the sacred corpse from one side to the other, in which latter operation aid was offered also from the invisible world, so that only a slight effort was required to move the body from one hand to the other. A'li—u. b. w.—not being able to see any dirt or impurity on the body of his lordship, as happens with other dead persons, he said: 'May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! What has perfumed thee in thy living and in thy dead condition?'

There is a tradition that his lordship was first washed with pure water, then with water of the leaves of the lote-tree, and the third time with camphor-water. It is related that after the ablution had been completed, a few drops of water remained in the cavities of the eyes and in the navel of his lordship, which A'li drank, and it became the cause of the increase of his knowledge and of his memory. The Emâm Nâttaq Ja'fer-us-sâdiq—u. w. b.—has a tradition that A'li drank the water which was on the blessed body of the prophet—u. w. b.—and there is also a tradition that A'li had seen an impurity in the eye of the apostle of God, and licked it out with his tongue. It is related that A'li, having once been asked for the reason of his perfect memory, replied: 'When I washed the body of the apostle of God, and some water remained on his eyes, I could not find it in my heart to allow it to be spilled on the ground, so I licked it with my tongue, whereon my memory and knowledge became augmented.'

In some biographical works it is related that a man asked Ebn A'bbás: 'How did you wash the prophet?' And he said: 'First they tied up a curtain of Yemen cloth,

and this became afterwards a custom among us, as well as with many pious individuals. After that A'bbâs ordered the Bani Hâshem to lock the door of the room, and they asked that one of the Anssâr should be present in the place where his lordship was to be washed. Hereon Awus Bin Khawly, who had fought at Bedr, came in, and then A'bbâs retired behind the curtain, where he called A'li, Fadzl, Abu Sofyân B. Alhâreth and Asâmah B. Zayd. After they had gone within, they, as well as those who had remained without the curtain, were overpowered by sleep, and drooped their heads. Then a voice from the invisible world was suddenly heard to exclaim: 'Do not wash the apostle of God, for he is pure;' but A'bbâs said: 'Indeed we shall wash him.' The members of the family rejoined: 'We shall not wash him.' A'bbâs, however, continued: 'For the sake of a voice, the speaker whereof we do not know, we shall not neglect the command of the prophet.' Accordingly A'bbâs and A'li approached the couch, and seated his lordship on the extremity of it. Then a voice from the invisible world was heard saying: 'Lay the apostle of God on his back and wash him.' After that both rose and placed his lordship so that his head was turned to the east, and his feet to the west. When they wished to turn his lordship from one side to the other, his propitious limbs moved immediately. His lordship had on his body a vest and a long shirt; his corpse was first washed with pure water, and then perfumed with camphor-water. Both the just-mentioned garments having been pressed, the propitious limbs of his lordship were rubbed with aromatic herbs, and after wrapping his body in a winding-sheet it was fumigated, taken from the place where it had been washed, and laid on a couch. After all this had been done, a voice was heard from the invisible world, saying: 'Dress your prophet, and God the Most High will dress you.' Therefore they put his clothes on him.

According to a certain tradition, Ssiddyqah said: 'They wrapped the apostle of God in three white cloths, neither of which was either a shirt or a turban.' According to the

tradition of A'bbâs, the shroud of his lordship consisted of two pieces of white garments, and one of striped Yemen cloth; and the couch on which they laid the apostle belonged to Omm Solmah or to Omm Habyhah, which had been purchased for four thousand dirhems; and according to some later accounts that very couch is still in existence at Madinah. It is related that after washing and shrouding his lordship they placed him on the couch and left him alone for some time, that the angels might pray over him, as he had enjoined [in his life-time]. After that, crowds of Musalmâns arrived, every one of whom said his prayers alone, without any one leading the devotions, because A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—had told the companions that in the funeral ceremonies no one should officiate as Emâm, saying: 'His lordship is your Emâm in life and in death.' And as some alleged that his lordship—u. w. b.—had himself issued these orders, certain persons were the cause of the procrastination of the interment.

In some traditions it is related that first A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—and A'bbâs, with a number of intimate friends; then all the Mohâjer, with the Anssâr; and finally the women and children, prayed near the body. There is a tradition of A'li, that on Tuesday, which was the second day after the demise of the apostle of God, he said: 'I heard a celestial herald uttering the words: "First the crowds of the Musalmans are to pray for the prophet."' Biographers and historians relate that a difference of opinion arose among the companions where the apostle of God was to be buried. Some maintained that his noble tomb ought to be in his own house, while others proposed the mosque, and others the Baqyi' cemetery. Abu Bakr said: 'I have heard the apostle of God tell us that no prophet is to be buried in any other place than that wherein he expired.' According to a certain tradition, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb said: 'On the face of the earth, no place is more acceptable to God the Most High than that where the spirit of the apostle of Allah was

grasped.' At any rate, they arrived at the conclusion to inter the sacred body of his lordship in the place whence his pure spirit took his departure to paradise.

It is related that there were two grave-diggers in Madinah, one Abu O'baydah Jurrâh, who used to make graves for the Mohâjer, by digging up the soil as a fissure, and this is called the medium size; the other was Abu Ttolhah the Anssàry, who served the Anssâr with niche-graves. Each of the two just-mentioned sections desired the grave of his holy and prophetic lordship to be dug according to its own usage. A'bbâs sent for both the grave-diggers, and an arrangement was made that the one arriving first should dig the grave of his lordship the refuge of termination in his own way. On that occasion A'bbâs said: 'O God Most High, select the manner which is best for Thy prophet.' Of the two messengers who had been despatched, one could not find Abu O'baydah, but the other brought Abu Ttolhah, who was told to dig the grave like a niche,[434] according to his own custom. According to a certain tradition, his lordship was, during the night of Wednesday, left on the edge of the grave, and was afterwards placed into the niche at the lower portion thereof:

> Where art thou whose separation tears our hearts?
> Our distressed minds are in agony for thee.
> Thou, the cypress of paradise, why under ground?
> Thou, the source of life, why covered with earth?

According to one tradition, A'bbâs, A'li B. Abu Ttâleb and Shuqrân, but according to another Fadzl and Qatham, the sons of A'bbâs, and according to [yet] another A'bdu-r-rahman B. Awuf, stood at the grave of his holy and prophetic lordship, and Shuqrân pushed Qottayfah, who had been present with his lordship at the conquest of Khayber, into the cavity of the grave, saying: 'I swear by Allah that no one but thyself shall cover up the grave.' And a number of religious persons have asserted that this had been done to fulfil one of the predictions of his lordship the prince of existences. There is a tradition that the last

[434] *Lahd*—see the description of graves in my article 'Beliefs and Usages,' etc., *Journal Bombay Br. R.A.S.*, vol. xii., p. 163.

person who came out from the grave of the apostle of God was A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—and another that it was Qatham, the son of A'bbâs. The tradition, however, ascribed to Moghyrah B. Sha'bah is that he said: 'I left my ring in the grave on purpose, and again entering when all had left, I took it out.' This tradition is weak and unfounded, because we read in some trustworthy books that when those words of Moghyrah were reported to A'li, he said: 'Moghyrah had not the boldness to do any such thing.' In the *Raudzatu-l-ahbâb* it is related that Moghyrah B. Sha'bah had thrown his ring into the grave, which he entered on pretence of taking it out, and when he had touched the feet of that prince he came out and said: 'I am more closely connected with the apostle of God than you are.' Among critics, however, this tradition does not enjoy much credit.

It is related that after the intimate friends of his lordship the refuge of termination had come out of the grave, they threw earth on it. According to one tradition they left its top flat, but according to another they raised it. Then all the friends went away and entered the house of Fattimah Zohrâ, where they went through the ceremonies of condolence. The favourite daughter of the apostle of God asked them: 'Have you buried the prophet?' They replied: 'Yes.' She asked: 'How could you find it in your hearts to throw earth on his lordship? Was he not the prophet of the Merciful [God]?' They replied: 'O daughter of the apostle of God, we are also grieved and distressed, but we cannot avoid obeying the commands of God the Most High.'

In the *Maqssad Aqssa* it is related that when the apostle of God was interred in the house of A'ayshah and the burning lamp was extinguished by the storm of time, Fattimah Zohrâ remained in the place, weeping day and night. She was being consumed, like a candle, by the fire of her own heart, looked now and then at Hasan and Husayn, lamenting so violently over her own dereliction and the hopeless state of her children, that she increased

the fire of her own heart, the people wept tears of blood, the friends and companions all weeping with them, addressing the lord of human beings and cream of existences in the following strains:

O lord, what hast thou seen of these broken hearts
That, leaving us, thou reposest in another place?
We knew not thy value, O shadow of God!
Therefore thou withdrewest thy shadow from our heads.
As this narrow world had not suited thee,
Thou hast selected thy place near the throne of God;
Thou hast met Him without a leader,
Without a mediator thou hast reached His exalted presence!
Thou art the bird of the sacred nest. No wonder
Thou flewest from this cage again to the rose-garden.
Send us a perfume from the rose of hope,
Of the perfume thou hast inhaled in paradise;
Pour one drop into our thirsty palates
Of the pure wine thou hast tasted of the truth.

In the *Kitâb Dallâylu-n-nabawwat* it is recorded that when his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—departed from the perishable to the imperishable world, the daylight vanished, so that the people could not see each other, nor even the palms of their hands before their eyes, until the time when the interment had been completed. After that, Abu Bakr and several daughters of A'bdu-l-muttalleb, who were the paternal aunts of the apostle of God, recited threnodies, during which some comforted Fattimah Zohrâ —u. w. b.—but others, weeping and lamenting, did not interfere with her distress and impatience. The author of these pages says that in the biographies of the members of the family and of the companions, innumerable threnodies bewailing the death of the apostle of God occur in verses, but for fear of incurring the charge of prolixity he inserts only the following three distichs uttered by Fattimah:

When my grief increases I visit thy tomb weeping,
I lament and cry; shall I receive thy answer?
O tenant of the grave, hast thou taught me to weep?
Wilt not thy memory overwhelm all other griefs?
I was on the grave, absent from myself,
But I was not absent from my burning heart!

The benediction of Allah be on him, on his descendants, friends, and companions who followed him. Salutations to them all.

Various Other Events.

It is the opinion of most biographers that the apostle of God expired on Monday, the 12th of the month Rabyi' anterior; some, however, assert that this great calamity took place on the 2nd of the said month. Ssiddyqah says: 'We knew not that the apostle of God had been buried, until we heard on the morning of Tuesday the noise made by the spades while the grave was being filled up with earth.' The Emân Ja'fer Ssâdiq has, however, a tradition from his father, according to which the interment of his lordship took place during the night of Wednesday. There is a statement of Ebn A'bbâs that the prophet was born on a Monday, entered Madinah on a Monday, died on a Monday, and that the black stone was uplifted on a Monday. Two causes have been assigned for the delay of the burial of his lordship. The first was the difference of opinion whether his blessed body ought to be interred in Madinah or to be conveyed to Mekkah; and the second was that, after the first grave had been dug, a discussion arose, whether his lordship ought to be buried in the Baqyi' cemetery, or in his mosque, or in his own apartment. The opinion, however, of the Shia'hs, that the interment was delayed because all the Mohâjer and Anssâr were engaged in appointing a successor [to the prophet], is rejected by the Sunnis.

Anus B. Mâlek has a tradition that 'on the day when the apostle of God removed [or rather fled] from Mekkah to Madinah, the whole city was shining with light, but that on the day when he departed to the eternal world that glorious region became darkened and obscured, and we had not yet washed off the earth of the prophet's grave from our hands, when these two ideas occurred to us.' His lordship died in a coarse blanket, and Abu Burdah says that A'ayshah took it, as well as a heavy Izâr out of the house, saying: 'The apostle of God has died in both these things.' Omm Solmah says: 'On the day when the apostle expired I placed on his blessed breast my hand,

which thereon began to exhale the odour of musk. I used to eat with my hand, and washed it, but the fragrance of musk, nevertheless, adhered to it for several weeks.'

It is the general opinion that his holy and prophetic lordship lived sixty-three years, and that after forty years of his precious life had elapsed, he was raised to the high dignity of prophecy. After he had, during thirteen years, exhorted the people to adopt the orthodox religion, he departed [*i.e.*, fled] from Mekkah to Madinah, where he remained ten years, promulged the revelation of God and preached the commandments of the noble religion, as has been recorded in these pages by way of abridgment. Should, however, life be granted to the author to complete the present work, and his exalted patron[435]—may he sit on the throne of dignity and glory till the end of the world—agrees, the author would compose a separate and detailed biography of his holy and prophetic lordship, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. At present, however, the unworthy writer will narrate the adventure of Moa'adh B. Jabal, which is not void of interest and attraction. Thereon he will give a slight notice of the miracles of the prince of existences, and after that he will begin to describe the reigns of the divinely-guided Khalifahs and later Emâms. Allah grants favours, and in Him we trust.

MOA'ADH B. JABAL GOES TO THE COUNTRY OF YEMEN AND RETURNS AGAIN.

The U'lamâ who wrote biographies—Allah have mercy on them—relate that after the decease of Bâdân, the Governor of Yemen, the apostle of God, having one day terminated the matutinal prayers, turned his blessed face towards his companions, and said: 'O ye Mohâjer and Anssâr, who of you is willing to go to Yemen?' Abu Bakr rose, and said: 'O apostle of God, may my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee! I am ready to go.' His lordship, however, replied nothing. After awhile the apostle repeated the same words; and O'mar rose, saying:

[435] A'li Shir, the Amir of Herat.

'O apostle of God, I shall go!' But his lordship said neither yea nor nay. When he had uttered the words for the third time, Moa'adh B. Jabal rose, and said: 'If thou wilt allow, I shall do this business. May my father and mother be a sacrifice for thee, as well as my own life, O apostle of God!' To these words of Moa'adh, his lordship the refuge of termination replied: 'Yes; thou art fit for the business, and the business is fit for thee.' Then he *said*: 'Ballâl, bring my turban.' Ballâl obeyed, and his lordship placed the blessed turban with his own blessed hands on the head of Moa'adh, and, having mounted him on a camel, he proceeded with the Anssâr and the Mohâjer, all of whom were on foot, in the company of Moa'adh, his lordship walking by the side of the latter, and imparting to him his instructions. On that occasion Moa'adh said: 'O apostle of God, I am mounted and thou art on foot; wilt thou allow me to alight and to walk with thy companions?' But the prophet replied: 'I believe I am walking on the business of God the Most High, O Moa'adh. I enjoin thee to be pious, of veracious speech and righteous dealing. I command thee to surrender anything which may be deposited with thee, to avoid fraud, to be kind, to abstain from everything illicit, to perform all duties, to give alms to the poor, to be of fair address, and to be forward in saluting the people. Be afraid of the day of reckoning and of requital, and prefer the blessings of the next to the goods of the present world. O Moa'adh, insult no Musalmân, believe no liar, disbelieve no veracious person, and disobey no righteous superior. O Moa'adh, whatever good I covet for myself, that I covet for thee; and whatever evil I desire to avoid, I wish thee to escape from likewise. O Moa'adh, visit the sick, and quickly relieve widows and destitute women. Be familiar with orphans, associate with poor persons, and prefer the interests of others to thy own. Step not out from the circle of righteousness, and let no insult of any man which he utters for the sake of truth offend thee. O Moa'adh, were another meeting after this possible between thee and me, I would certainly have cut

short my admonitions, but we shall see each other no more till the day of the resurrection.

It is easy to separate and meet again;
But we separate; and where do we meet again?

After Moa'adh had listened to these words of his holy and prophetic lordship, he began to weep, so that from the fire in his heart the smoke of melancholy ascended into his brains. He took leave of that prince with a grieved heart and sorrowful mind, departed to Yemen, and arrived, after performing the journey, in Ssana'a, which is the capital of that country. There the people hastened to wait on him; he mounted the pulpit, and delivered an address beginning with the praises of the Almighty Creator, and salutations to the elected Ahmad—u. w. b.—and ending with the promulgation of the treaty of the apostle of God. After he had terminated this business, the nobles and chiefs said to him: 'We have prepared a repast for thee, as well as a lodging, with carpets and beds suited to thy dignity and position, and request thee to take possession.' But Moa'adh replied: 'O ye nobles of Ssana'a, God forbid that I should do so. For the favourite of Allah has sent me to visit the sick, to relieve the distress of widows and sick persons, to call on orphans, to associate with the poor and destitute, and to prefer the interests of justice to my own; to promulge the truth to the people, and not to take notice of the insults of anyone when I am preaching the commands of God.' After that Moa'adh selected a corner [of a room] for his lodging, obtained imperishable nourishment by his pursuits, and attended to the government of that country until he heard one night the following words in a dream: 'O Moa'adh, thou art on the couch of repose, whereas Muhammad, the apostle of God, is in the agony of death!' He therefore leapt up weeping, and thought that perhaps the morn of the day of resurrection had dawned. When, however, he looked at the firmament with its twinkling stars in its usual condition, he thought that the words he had just heard originated either from his own hallucination or from machinations of Satan; he therefore exclaimed:

'I take refuge with God from Satan, driven away with stones.' During the following night he heard the words, 'O Moa'adh, how canst thou enjoy life whilst Muhammad the apostle of God is underground?' Moa'adh jumped up from sleep, began to weep and to moan aloud, exclaiming: 'Alas for Muhammad!' He shouted so violently that the people awoke, came out of their houses and gathered around him, saying: 'Moa'adh, what is the matter with thee? What news hast thou received this night that thou lamentest so much?' Moa'adh nevertheless continued to cry and to moan till morning, whereon he mounted his camel, saying: 'During this journey I shall not alight, except to pray or to answer a call of nature.' While he was travelling in the night, and only three farsakhs more remained till Madinah, he heard the following words on his left side: 'O Allah, inform Moa'adh that Muhammad has tasted the beverage of death, and has departed from this world.' Moa'adh replied: 'O thou who speakest to me in this dark night, who art thou?' The voice replied: 'I am O'mmâr Yâser.' He asked: 'Where art thou going?' Yâsar replied: 'To Yemen. And I am bearing the letter wherein Abu Bakr informs Moa'adh that Muhammad the apostle of God has joined the mercy of the Lord of both worlds:

> That vault of prophecy has sunk,
> That castle of apostleship is ruined,
> That city of mercy is destroyed,
> That Nile of grandeur has become a mirage.

Moa'adh began to cry and to lament, saying, 'O support and refuge of the professors of the religion, O last of the apostles,

> To whom will the unhappy now apply?
> From whom will the poor now ask aid?

Moa'adh also said: 'O'mmâr, I adjure thee by our connection with Muhammad, tell me in what state thou hast left the companions of the apostle.' He replied: 'Like a flock without a shepherd.' Moa'adh continued: 'How hast thou left Madinah?' O'mmâr said: 'I left it at a time when that city pressed more closely on its inhabitants than a ring on the finger.' Moa'adh placed his hand on his

head, and exclaimed: 'Alas for Muhammad!' He continued his lamentations till he reached the neighbourhood of Madinah, where an old woman pasturing sheep heard his exclamations, and said: 'Thou servant of God, I have not beheld Muhammad, but I have seen his daughter Fattimah Zohrá weeping for her father, and saying: "Alas, my father! the Divine revelations which were received have ceased. O my father, no heavenly message will be sent to us hereafter." And I have seen A'li the Commander of the Faithful, who wept, and said: "O thou refuge and patron of widows and orphans, who will now relieve the former and console the latter?" I also saw Hasan and Husayn weep and say: "O possessor of both worlds, how hast Thou withdrawn Thy favour from us! To whose care, trust, and mercy hast Thou recommended us?"' When Moa'adh had heard these words he shed rubies and pearls [of tears] from his bloodshot eyes, and poured bright jewels on the dust of the road. On the night during which he arrived in Madinah, he first went to the door of Saiddyqah's house and knocked. She exclaimed: 'Who is that who knocks at midnight on a widow's door?' Moa'adh replied: 'It is me, the servant of the apostle of God, Moa'adh B. Jabal.' A'ayshah then ordered a slave-girl to open the door; Moa'adh entered weeping, and uttered a salutation, after returning which A'ayshah said: 'Moa'adh, knowest thou that my beloved father[436] has departed from the perishable to the imperishable world?' After A'ayshah had expressed other sentiments of the same kind, both wept much, and Moa'adh said: 'O mother of the Faithful, tell me about the sickness of the apostle of God.' A'ayshah said: 'O Moa'adh, being unable to endure the sight of the sufferings of the apostle of God, I sometimes absented myself from his bedside. Thou must ask this question from Fattimah Zohrâ, who has attended on his lordship from the beginning of his malady till his last breath. Accordingly Moa'adh left the house of A'ayshah and went to that of Fattimah. When he knocked at the door, A'li

[436] This stands for husband, as a term of respect.

the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—asked: 'Who is coming here at so unseasonable an hour of the night?" Moa'adh replied: 'I, the slave of the threshold, the slave of this sublime court, the attendant on the apostle of God; I, the servant of God the Most High, Moa'adh B. Jabal.' When Fattimah recognised the voice of Moa'adh, she ordered the Emâm Hasan to open the door Then Moa'adh entered, condoled with Fattimah—u. w. b.—and asked her: 'How was the prophet when the disease overwhelmed him, and what was the condition of the prince at that time?' Fattimah replied: 'O Moa'adh, hadst thou seen the lord of existences in the agony of death, when the hue of his countenance, endued with laudable qualities, became sometimes red and sometimes yellow, and when he occasionally glanced to the left, or fixed his eyes on the sky, saying, "A'li, convey my salutations to my friends," life would not be sweet to thee any more. O Moa'adh, on that occasion I was attending upon and nursing the apostle of God, sitting at his bedside, when a man suddenly appeared near the door, and said: "Greeting to you, ye members of the house of prophecy. Salutation to you, ye mine of apostleship and of kindness. Will you allow me to enter the house?" I replied: "O servant of God, may the Lord of both worlds reward thee for visiting the sick, but the apostle of God cannot see anyone at present." The angel of death then shouted to me: "Fattimah, do not oppose me, for I must enter!" Then the pain of that prince decreased, he opened his eyes, and said: "O Fattimah, knowest thou whom thou art conversing with? He is the destroyer of the enjoyments of the servants of God, the maker of widows and orphans. He asks no one for permission, he enters every house, and returns not until he has taken a life. He is called the grasper of souls and angel of death. Fattimah, allow him to enter." When the angel of death had obtained permission, he entered, and said: "Salutation to thee, O apostle of God!' and his lordship replied: "Salutation to thee, O faithful servant of God!" "I swear by that God who has

sent thee in reality, that ere this I have never entered the house of any prophet and asked for admittance, nor shall I ask for permission from anyone after thee." His lordship asked: "Hast thou come to take my soul?" He replied: "Yes, such is the command of my Creator." His lordship continued: "I have a request." The angel of death asked: "What is it?" The apostle of God said: "Give me respite till my friend Jebrâil arrives, that I may ask him something." A'zrayil replied: "I swear by that God who has sent thee to be an apostle and a mercy that I was despatched to thy threshold with orders not to overstep it until permitted, and not to engage in the taking of thy soul until allowed by thee to do so." Then the angel of death left the apostle of God—u. w. b.—but met at the door of the house Jebrâil and Mykâyl, each of whom was accompanied by one thousand angels, who had also brought a shroud and aromatic plants from paradise. Jebrâil, perceiving the angel of death, asked him: "A'zrayil, what hast thou done to my friend? Hast thou been engaged in taking his soul or not?" A'zrayil replied: "Muhammad asked me for a respite until he should see thee, and ask some questions." Jebrâil wept, and said: "O angel of death, return; perceivest thou not that the portals of heaven are opened, that the angels are congratulating each other at the approach of Muhammad's spirit, that paradise is adorned, and that the Hûris with large eyes have put on their decorations and ornaments, rejoicing as they are at the advent of the soul of Muhammad?" Jebrâil then entered the noble apartment with the angel of death, and said: "Salutation to thee, O apostle of God! May God bless thee and thy family! The Lord of Magnificence sends thee greeting!" His lordship replied: "He is peace. Peace cometh from Him and returneth to Him. Salutation to thee! The peace, mercy, and blessing of God be with thee, O my friend! The angel of death has come to take my soul. Hast thou any good news to give me?" Jebrâil replied: 'O Muhammad, rejoice! I swear by that God who has in reality sent thee as a mercy to the human race,

that when I came the portals of heaven were opened, th angels congratulated each other on the coming of thy sou I have seen the highest paradise adorned, and the Hûri with large eyes in ecstasies of joy for thy impendin arrival." His holy and prophetic lordship replied: "I do no ask about these matters, O Jebrail. Give me tidings tha will comfort my mind." Jebrail continued: "O Muhammad the keys of paradise will be in thy hand, and no one shal enter it before thee." He rejoined: "I do not ask abou this." Jebrâil continued: "On the morn of the resurrectior the banner of Muhammad will be in thy hand; under will be Adam, with all his descendants, uttering the words 'There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the apostl of Allah.' He continued: "This is not what I want t know." Then Jebrâil began to weep, and said: "Dea friend, what, then, wantest thou to know? And what gla tidings askest thou?" The prophet said: "I grieve for th poor and weak professors of our religion, for whom I hav laboured so much, and I desire to know who will take car of them when I am gone, and what their condition will be?' Jebrâil replied: "None of the prophets and apostles car enter paradise before thee, and, in like manner, no natior can enter it before thy people have entered. This is or account of the honour in which God the Most High hold thee, and for the sake of the love which thou beares towards thy adherents they will obtain favour and mercy.' His lordship replied: "O Jebrâil, now is my soul refreshe and my spirit rejoiced, because of the glad tidings thou hast communicated to me." Then he said: "O angel o death, come forward and execute what thou hast beer ordered." When the angel of death approached, his pro phetic lordship said to Jebrâil: "O my beloved, leavest tho me alone? Pray to God the Most High and Glorious tha the last agony of death may be easy to me."'

Fattimah Zohrâ—u. w. b.—said: 'On that occasion I heard a voice uttering the following words: "I am present, I am present! O my friend, rejoice, for thou wilt ente our paradise!" Hereon perspiration more fragrant than

musk trickled down the forehead of his lordship, and I heard a melody the like of which I had never heard before in my life, nor did I perceive any change in the intellect of the apostle of God even till his last breath.' The writer of these pages says that although he entertained some doubts about the story of Moa'adh B. Jabal, he has nevertheless inserted it in this place for the sake of greater perspicuity.

Some of the Miracles and [Fulfilments of some] Prayers of his Lordship.

Muhammad E. Esahâq has a tradition that after Abu-l-a'ass B. Rabyi' B. A'bdu-l-u'zza B. Shams, who was the son of the sister of Khodayjah, the daughter of Khowylad, had married her daughter Zaynab, whom she begat with the apostle of God, and also after Raqyah, the step-sister of Zaynab, had been married to O'tbah B. Abu Lahab, a feud had broken out between the Qoraish and the apostle of God, in consequence whereof the flames of envy and rancour had commenced to blaze in the furnaces of their minds. Wishing to distress and to insult that prince, some of the Qoraish said to Abu-l-a'ass and to O'tbah: 'Both of you have wedded daughters of Muhammad, and have thereby relieved him of the trouble to take care of them. Now you must divorce his daughters in order to cause him grief and unhappiness; and we shall give you instead of them any of the daughters of Qoraish chieftains whom you may select.' Abu-l-a'ass replied: 'I swear by God that I shall never separate from my wife, nor prefer any other woman to her.' O'tbah the licentious—curses be on him—however, said: 'If you try to procure for me the daughter of Sa'yd Abu-l-a'ass I shall divorce the daughter of Muhammad.' Accordingly the Qoraish married the daughter of Sa'yd to O'tbah, although at that time he had not yet had any true connection with Raqyah.' U'rwah B. Azzobayr says: 'O'tbah came to the apostle of God, and spoke the following words: "This son-in-law [of thine] does not believe in the crazy star which has come down,

and does not acknowledge that Jebrâil is visiting thee.' Then he squirted the saliva of his impure mouth towards his lordship—u. w. b.—divorced Raqyah, uttered a few more unbecoming words, and departed.'

Distich : The moon sheds light, the dog barks ;
It is not the moon's fault, but the dog's nature.

It is related that on the occasion when O'tbah—curses on him—perpetrated the above act, the apostle of God—u. w. b.—pronounced the following invocation: 'O God, appoint over him one of Thy dogs.' Abu Ttâleb, who was present with the apostle of God, said to O'tbah: 'O my nephew, what stratagem can save thee from the sequel of this prayer?' According to another tradition, Abu Ttâleb, being grieved at his lordship's wish, said to the prophet: 'Son of my brother, what wilt thou gain by this evil wish?' In short, O'tbah returned to his house and communicated to his father, Abu Lahab, what had taken place; but the latter was, despite his idolatry and obstinacy, convinced that the wish of his lordship, the best of the servants of God, would be responded to, and was grieved. Some time afterwards, Abu Lahab and O'tbah departed with a company of the Qoraish to Syria for the purpose of trading. During their journey, however, they halted in a station where a monk informed them that many wild beasts were on the road, and advised them to be very careful. On that occasion Abu Lahab turned to his companions, and said: 'Be prepared for a contest and aid each other, for I am not sure whether the imprecation of Muhammad will not be responded to.' Afterwards they heaped together all their baggage, and the couch of O'tbah happened to be on the top of it. When the night set in, O'tbah reclined on his couch, and the whole caravan reposed around the property of O'tbah. In the middle of the night, however, a roaring lion attacked the people of the caravan, all of whom were sleeping near their baggage; he snuffed at every person, but injured no one until he mounted the heap of merchandise where O'tbah slept, and sent that impudent

wretch to hell by ripping up his abdomen, thus making him a loser in this and in the next world.

It is related that when Abu Ttâleb happened, on a certain occasion, to be sick, his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—condescended to pay him a visit, during which he requested the apostle to pray that the Most High would grant him health. That prince accordingly turned to the Qiblah of prayer, and said: 'O God, heal my uncle, Abu Ttâleb.' Whereon the latter, having immediately been cured of his disease, said: 'O Muhammad, the Creator whom thou worshippest responds indeed to thy requests.' The Sunnis allege that the apostle of God replied to these words with his wonderfully eloquent tongue as follows: 'Uncle, if thou wilt also worship Him, He will grant thy prayers likewise.'

There is a tradition that a woman had a son, who was so sick that he had not a single hair left on his head; therefore she took the little boy to the apostle of God, and requested him to pray to God that he might recover his health. His lordship complied with the request of the poor woman, placed his hands on the head of the little boy and uttered a prayer, whereon the hair immediately sprouted on his head, and he was cured of his disease. At the time when Moseylamah the liar claimed to be a prophet, a woman brought her sick boy to him, and requested him to pray for his recovery. Moseylamah placed his hands on the head of the child, but by the touch of his unhallowed hand the little boy lost every hair of his head.

It is related of A'li the Commander of the Faithful—u. w. b.—that he said: 'On a certain occasion I was attending on the apostle of God, when a number of the Qoraish approached him, and said: "Muhammad, the pretensions made by thee are greater than any ever broached by thy ancestors; but if thou canst show them to be true, we shall acknowledge thee to be a prophet; if not, we shall set thee down as a wizard and liar." His lordship asked: "What is your wish?" They continued: "Call out to this tree that it come out from the earth with its roots." They

then pointed out a tree in the vicinity, and the apostle God said: "Allah is omnipotent! If He does this thin will you believe in His unity?" The idolaters havin replied in the affirmative, his lordship continued: "I shal show you what you ask, although I know that there is n good in you, and I know him who instigated you, namel Abu Jahl. He also is among you, who will make league[437] against me, namely, Abu Sofyân B. Harb." Then he exclaimed: "O tree, if thou believest in Allah the Mos High and Glorious, and in the day of requital, and if tho knowest me to be the apostle of God, arise from the eart with all thy roots and stand near me by the permission God the Most High, whose name be blessed and exalted!" A'li continued: 'I swear by that God who has in realit sent Muhammad to mankind, that the tree came out of th earth with its roots, approached the apostle of God—u. w. —uttered a great shout, and shook itself like the wings a bird, moving until it reached the prophet, near whom remained stationary and overshadowed him with its tw highest branches. Some of these also touched my bac while I was standing at the right hand of his lordshi When the idolaters saw what was taking place, they said "O Muhammad, order one half of the tree to remain wit thee, and the other to return to its former place." His ho and prophetic lordship thereon made a sign to the tree, an one half of it remained, while the other returned to it former place. They then again requested him to move th stationary portion to its original place, and to bring th other again back therefrom, which he likewise did, and exclaimed: "There is no God but Allah, and Muhamma is the apostle of Allah. I am thy first adherent, O apost of Allah, and I believe whatever the tree has done was b command of God the Most High to demonstrate the trut of thy prophetship." After I had uttered these words, th Qoraish exclaimed: "Muhammad is a sorcerer, a liar, juggler, and a wizard, and no one will believe him exce such a fellow," meaning myself.'

[437] See 'The Confederates,' Qurân, ch. xxxiii.

There is a tradition that once some persons came to the apostle of God, complained that their water was brackish, and said: 'The sweet water is distant from us.' Accordingly his lordship rose, and went with a number of his companions to the well, into which he threw some saliva from his blessed mouth, whereon the water immediately became sweet. The well is celebrated to this day, and was inherited by the members of that tribe from generation to generation, the people still boasting of the miracle worked in their favour. When the people of Moseylamah the liar had heard of this miracle, they requested him to work a similar one in their favour, but as soon as Moseylamah had thrown the saliva from his accursed mouth into their well, the water became brackish, and had the taste of the urine of an ass.

In some books it is recorded that several persons came to his lordship the refuge of apostleship, to complain of the paucity of water in their well. Accordingly his lordship spat into it, and the water rose as high as they wished. During the time of Moseylamah, some of his people who had heard of this miracle made the same request to him, and said: 'Muhammad has done such a thing, and we beseech thee in the same manner to spit into our well, for the increase of the water thereof.' Moseylamah complied with their petition, and when he squirted the water of his impure mouth into the well, the little water which was in it disappeared altogether, and the well became so dry that not a drop remained therein.

It is related that when his holy and prophetic lordship returned to Madinah from the Ghazwah of the Bani Tha'lebah, a camel one day approached him, and he asked his companions: 'Know you what this camel says?' Jâber the Anssâry—u. w. b.—replied: 'Allah and His prophet know best.' His lordship then said: 'This camel speaks as follows: "My owner has made me work till I have become old, and my back is sore. Now he wants to slay me and sell my flesh.'" His lordship continued: 'Go with this camel to its owner and bring him to me.'

Jâber replied: 'I swear by God that I do not know the master of it.' His lordship said: 'I will show thee the way.' Jâber continues: 'I went with the camel till I arrived among the Bani Hanttalah, and inquired for the owner of the camel. One of them replied that he owned it. I then said that the apostle of God had despatched me in search of him, whereon he accompanied me, and we brought the camel to his lordship, who said to its owner: "Thy camel says so and so." He replied: "The words of the camel are true, O apostle of God." His lordship continued: "Sell it to me." The man said: "I make thee a present of it." His lordship would not agree, but purchased the camel from him, and whenever any one of us wanted to go to a near place, he mounted that camel with the permission of his lordship the refuge of termination.' Jâber continues: 'A short time afterwards I perceived that the wound of the camel had disappeared, and that it had recovered its health.'

There is a tradition of A'li the Commander of the Faithful, of Ebn A'bbâs, of Ebn Masu'd, and of other noble companions—may Allah reward them all—that once the Qoraish idolaters assembled around the apostle of God, and said: 'If thy claim to prophecy be true, then divide the moon in twain.' His lordship the refuge of termination —u. w. b.—said: 'Will you believe if I do it?' They said: 'Yes.' Then he pointed his finger at the moon, and it was immediately divided into two parts, one of which remained in its place and the other was concealed behind a mountain. His holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.— then exclaimed: 'O such and such a one, and such and such a one, be ye witnesses.' According to another tradition the moon was divided in such a manner that Mount Hira intervened between the two halves. Some idolaters then said: 'Muhammad has bewitched you,' and others exclaimed: 'What we have seen cannot possibly have been perceived by all the people; we must therefore ask travellers, and if they also have witnessed this strange

phenomenon, you may be sure that Muhammad is a true prophet, but if not, not.' Accordingly when strangers and travellers arrived from various regions in Mekkah, the unbelievers and hypocrites examined them, and received the information that on a certain night the moon appeared divided into two halves.

It is related that an Arab who was a huntsman had caught a land-crocodile,[438] which he was carrying to his house as food for his family and children. While he was on the way, he suddenly perceived a large gathering of people and asked for the cause of it. The people replied: 'Muhammad, the son of A'bdullah—the bl. of A. be on him and on his family—is here and claims to be a prophet.' The Arab forcibly entered the crowd, went up to his lordship, and said: 'O Muhammad, I shall not believe thee until this crocodile believes,' and threw the land-crocodile at his lordship's feet; but it wanted to run away; therefore his holy and prophetic lordship—u. w. b.—exclaimed: 'Lizard, approach.' The animal obeyed, replying in eloquent and distinct language: 'I await thy commands with pleasure.' His lordship asked: 'Whom worshippest thou?' The animal replied: 'I worship Allah, whose throne is in heaven, whose dominion is on earth, whose power is in the sea, whose mercy is in paradise, and whose punishment is in hell.' The apostle of God asked: 'Who am I?' The animal said: 'Thou art the apostle of the Lord of both worlds and the seal of prophets; blessings be on thee! Whoever believes thee will be saved, and whoever accuses thee of falsehood will be damned.' When the huntsman heard these words of the crocodile he took the finger of astonishment between the teeth of meditation, and said 'After this I wish for no other proof of thy veracity. I testify that there is no God but Allah, and I testify that thou art His servant and His apostle. This profession I now make externally and internally. I swear by God that when I first approached thee, there was no man on the

[438] No doubt only a big lizard is meant.

face of the earth whom I hated more than thee; now however, I love thee more than my own eyes, ears, fathe mother, and children.' His holy and prophetic lordship u. w. b.—replied: 'Thanks and praises be to Allah, wh has shown thee the right way.'

There is a tradition of Ebn O'mar that he said: 'W were on a journey with the apostle of God, when an Ara met us, whom that prince asked: "Where art thou going? He replied: "To my house." The prophet—u. w. b.— continued: "Wilt thou utter two phrases?" The Ara asked: "What are they?" His lordship continued "Say: There is no God but Allah only, who has n partner, and Muhammad is His servant and apostle." The Arab asked: "Who is a witness to the truth of th claim?" The prophet replied: "This tree which is stand ing on the edge of the Wády." After the apostle ha uttered these words, the tree began to move from the plac tearing up the ground while it moved towards the prophe near whom it finally stopped. Then his lordship asked th tree thrice, and the tree bore thrice witness to the truth the claim of his holy and prophetic lordship.' Boryda relates that the Arab asked for a miracle from his holy an prophetic lordship, who replied: 'Say to that tree, Th apostle of God is calling thee.' The Arab obeyed, th tree inclined from one side to the other until it extricate its roots from the soil, and then, moving up to the prophe said: 'Salutation to thee, O prophet of God.' The Ara continued: 'Order the tree to return to its place.' Accord ingly the tree returned by the permission of his lordshi the refuge of termination again to its former place, wher it remained standing. Then the Arab said: 'Allow me t worship thee.' But his lordship replied: 'Were I to allo created beings to be worshipped, I would order wives adore their husbands.'

It is related of Abu Dharr Ghuffári that the apostle God was sitting in a certain place, and that Abu Bak O'mar and O'thmán were attending on him. His lordshi

took up seven pebbles from the ground, and when he placed them on the blessed palm of his hand, they began to praise God, and their voice resembled the humming of bees. When he threw the pebbles on the ground they became silent. The Sunnis believe that the gravel uttered praises of God also when successively placed into the hands of Abu Bakr, O'mar and O'thmân. In the *Tamhyd* of Abu Shukr and of Abu Sâlemy it is recorded that A'li was likewise present in that assembly, and that when his lordship placed the pebbles into the hands of A'li they likewise praised God in the following words: 'Praise be to God, and laudation to God.' After that Abu Dharr took the gravel, by order of the prophet, into his own hand, but it gave forth no sound. Abu Dharr then asked: 'What mystery is it that the pebbles utter praises in their hands, but are silent in mine?' His holy and prophetic lordship however replied: 'Because thou wantest to be their equal.'

There is a tradition that Abu Jahl had bought a camel from a man, but as he delayed payment the seller applied to the assembly of the Qoraish, who, however, replied by way of derision: 'Tell Muhammad to take from Abu-l-hukm[430] what is due to thee.' Accordingly the seller went to the apostle of God, represented his case, and requested his aid. His lordship complied, went with the man to the house of Abu Jahl, and knocked at the door, whereon he came out quite confused, and said: 'Welcome, O father of Qâsim; what is the reason of thy condescension?' That prince replied: 'Pay this man what thou owest.' Abu Jahl continued: 'I hear and obey,' and immediately complied. When the Qoraish heard what had taken place they were astonished, and asked him why he had so promptly obeyed the summons. He replied: 'When Muhammad spoke these words, I perceived a dragon standing with open jaws over my head, and had I refused to obey I would have been swallowed immediately.'

[430] The meaning of both these designations, applied to the same man, has already been explained. See Notes 167 and 254.

It is related that once a murderer of the Bani Makhzûm made a conspiracy to assassinate his lordship while he was at prayers, and Abu Jahl, with Wolyd B. Moghyrah, were also of the party. At a time when that prince was engaged in prayers, standing between the E'râqy and Yemeny buttresses, Wolyd approached him with a murderous intention, but on arriving there he heard only the voice of his lordship reciting the Qurân, but could not see his person, and was obliged to return disappointed, whereon he informed the conspirators of his ill-success. Therefore some of them again went with Abu Jahl, heard the voice of the prophet, but saw not his person, and repeated their attempt several times in vain, passing beyond the apostle, whose voice they heard in their rear. At last they became convinced that the prophet enjoyed the protection of the Most High, and returned to their homes full of sorrow and disappointment. Allah — whose name be praised — has said: 'And we have set a bar before them, and a bar behind them, and we have covered them with darkness wherefore they shall not see.'[440]

There is a tradition attributed to the Emâm Hasan—u. w. b.—to the effect that one day a man said to his holy and prophetic lordship: 'I had a little daughter whom I threw some time ago into such and such a river—it being customary with the Arabs during the time of ignorance to destroy their own daughters—and I requested his lordship to utter a prayer that my daughter might be resuscitated. The apostle complied, went to the bank of the river, hailed the little girl by her name, and exclaimed: 'Return to life by the power of God the Most High!' The child then immediately came out from the river, saying: 'I obey thee with pleasure, O apostle of God!' The prophet—u. w. b.—then said: 'Thy father and mother have become Musalmâns; art thou willing to be restored to them?' The girl replied: 'I have need neither of father nor mother,

[440] Qurân, ch. xxxvi., 8. This verse, however, has no bearing on the present case, as appears plainly enough from the context.

cause I have found my God to be nearer to me than they.'

It is related, after Nu'mân B. Bashyr the Anssary, that one of the professors of Islâm had died at Madinah, that his body had been dressed and laid out in state, and that when the women assembled around him he uttered the following words in eloquent and distinct language: 'Muhammad the apostle of Allah is the illiterate prophet. This was written down in the book.' After that he said: 'He has spoken the truth.' Then he mentioned the names of some of the companions, and said: 'Greeting to thee, O apostle of God! may the blessing and mercy of God be upon thee!' After uttering these words he relapsed into his former state and expired.

O'thmân B. Hanyf relates that a blind man requested the apostle of God to pray that his sight might be restored, and his lordship said: "Go, perform thy religious ablution; pray with two flexions, and then utter the following invocation: 'O God Most High, I desire to make Thy apostle, who is the prophet of mercy, my intercessor with Thee, that the veil of cecity may be uplifted from before my eyes. O God, accept the intercession of Muhammad for me.' The narrator states that the blind man obeyed the injunction, and his wish was fulfilled.

There is a tradition of Qotâdah B. Nu'mân that he said: 'I prayed one night the dormitory prayers with his lordship, and although it was raining a little, and the night was very dark, I wished to return home. His lordship put a stick made of date-tree-wood into my hand, saying: "Go with this, because from this stick ten lights will be kindled in thy front, and ten in thy rear. When thou enterest thy house, thou wilt see something black; strike it till it goes out; for it is Satan."' Qotâdah says: 'When I departed, the words of the apostle of God were fulfilled, there being ten lights before and ten behind me. When I entered my house, I perceived a man, whom I struck, as his lordship had commanded me, till he went out.'

One of the miracles of his lordship was the knowledge of events which happened after his decease. Thus, for instance, he predicted that some members of his family would be killed, and said to A'li: 'The worst of men is he who will slay thee.' He also said: 'A'li is the bestower of paradise and of hell; he will send his friends to the former, and his enemies to the latter place, and schismatics will be his foes.' He further said Dhu-n-nûryin [endowed with two lights], [viz., Othman] will be slain whilst reading the Qurân, and his blood will fall on the blessed verse: 'Verily Allah will reward you; for He hears everything, and He is most hearing and wise.' His lordship also predicted that intestine wars would arise during the life-time of O'mar. He also gave information of the war of A'li the Commander of the Faithful and of Zobayr Ala'wwâm, which will soon be narrated in these pages. At the time the Musalmáns were engaged in digging the fosse,[441] he predicted that the insurgents would kill O'mmâr Yâser, and to A'bdullah Zobayr he said: 'Woe to the people from thy hands, and woe to thee from the hands of the people.' Further, with reference to the Emâm Hasan—salutation to him—he said: 'He is the best man who makes peace between two factions.' He also said: 'Among my wives she is the best whose hands are the longest,' meaning Zaynab, whose hands were the longest,[442] and surpassed those of all the others. He also said: 'Between the Tigris and the Euphrates a town will be built to which the houses of the earth will be drawn,' namely, Baghdád. He said to Abu Ka'b: 'Congratulate this nation on its splendour, greatness, conquests, and pomp on earth; but whoever covets a reward in this world will receive none in the next.'

The writer of these pages says that records of all the miracles, and accounts of the pure wives, freed men, relicts, and everything else connected with his lordship the prince of existences—the most excellent salutations to him—have

[441] Qurân, ch. xxxiii., 9-13.   [442] Stretched out in giving alms.

been composed in detailed biographical works, by celebrated ancient and modern authors, and that, as all of them could not be mentioned in this book, some miracles only have been narrated by way of a blessing, with the hope that the unworthy author of this work will not incur the blame of his learned and intelligent readers.

END OF THE LIFE OF MUHAMMAD.

APPENDIX A.

The following pages, translated from the *Habib-us-Syar* by Khondemir, the maternal grandson of Mirkhond, the author of the *Rauzat-us-safa*, and containing an account of the wives, concubines, children, amanuenses, alms-gatherers, servants, freed men and women of Muhammad the apostle, will be found interesting as a supplement to the life of the prophet.

Record of the Pure Spouses of his Lordship the Prince of Existences—the Perfumes of Blessings and the Breezes of Salutations be upon him.

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded, according to trustworthy authorities, that his holy and prophetic lordship introduced during his life-time twelve women into the bonds of matrimony, and consummated it with them. Concerning eleven of these there is no difference of opinion, but of one it is not certain whether she was a wife or a concubine, as shall be noticed hereafter, if it pleaseth Allah the Most High. All biographers agree that the first spouse of the prince of mankind was Khodayjah the greater—may Allah reward her. She was the daughter of Khowylad, son of Asad, s. of A'bdu-l-u'zza, s. of Qossai, s. of Kallâb. The noble pedigree of the most excellent of virtuous ladies and paragon of innocence converges in Qossai with the genealogy of his lordship the seal of prophecy. In dignity and relationship Khodayjah stood nearer to the prince of Arabs and non Arabs than any of his other wives. The cognomen of Khodayjah was Omm Hind [mother of Hind], and her

sobriquet was Ttâherah [the pure one]. Her mother was Fattimah the daughter of Asad, s. of Alassum, of the tribe Bani A'amer B. Lowa. The first husband of Khodayjah was A'tyq, s. of A'abed, s. of A'bdullah Makhzûmy, by whom she had a son and a daughter. After his death Abu Hálah, s. of Unnabâsh, s. of Zoràrah Bayhâqy, married her. According to one tradition the name of Abu Hâlah was Málek, according to another Zorârah, and some allege that it was Zobayr, whilst others say it was Hind. The Sunnis admit that Khodayjah—may Allah reward her—had also by Abu Hâlah two sons, namely, Hâlah and Hind. Some chroniclers assert that Abu Hâlah was Khodayjah's first and A'tyq her second husband; but this tradition originated from Mukhtâr, s. of Khoz.

In short, when the second husband of Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—had died, many chiefs and nobles of the Qoraish desired to marry her, but her ladyship would bestow her hand on no one, because when the waning moon of the existence of Abu Hâlah had set in the west of annihilation, she dreamt one night that the sun had descended from the sky into her house, from which its light radiated. She related this dream to her cousin Waraqah, s. of Naofel, who replied: 'The interpretation of this vision is, that the prophet of the latter times will take thee into the bonds of matrimony.' Hereon Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—inquired for the name and position of the prophet of the Arabs and non-Arabs, and Waraqah communicated to her ladyship the seat of innocence all he knew on the subject. Khodayjah therefore always expected the rise of that sun of the sphere of prophecy, until she was exalted to the felicity of becoming his wife. At the time when the rays of the favour of the prince of existences shone upon the cheeks of her circumstances, his lordship was twenty-five years old, and according to the traditions of all Sunnis, Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—was at that time forty years of age. In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* there is a tradition of Ebn A'bbâs—m. A. r. h.—that Khodayjah was married to his holy and prophetic lordship in her twenty-

eighth year, and that her dowry consisted of twelve Oqyahs[443] of gold. It is an authentic fact that all the children of his lordship the best of the servants [of God] were born of Khodayjah, except the lord Ebrâhim, to whom Mâryah the Coptess gave birth. As long as Khodayjah the greater—m. A. r. h.—was alive, the most excellent of men—the greater blessings be on him—would not, from regard for her noble mind, contract a marriage with any other woman.

The virtues and good qualities of Khodayjah—m. A. r. h. —were numerous, her perfections and accomplishments innumerable. She was the first who believed in the prophetship of the prince of the righteous, and she freely spent everything she possessed in order to please him. There is a tradition of A'li the Commander of the Faithful —the blessings of the Most High be on him—that the prophet—the bl. of A. and peace be on him and on his family—said: 'The best woman of past times was Mariam [Mary], and the best woman of our times is Khodayjah.' There is also a tradition of Ebn A'bbâs—u. w. b.—that his holy and prophetic lordship said: 'The most excellent women among the inhabitants of paradise will be Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân;[444] Khodayjah, the daughter of Khowylad; and Fattimah, the daughter of Muhammad; and Asiah, the daughter of Mozâhum.' There is a tradition of Anus, son of Mâlek, that the prophet said: 'The best women of both worlds are, Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân; Khodayjah, the daughter of Khowylad; Fattimah, the daughter of Muhammad; and Asiah, the wife of Pharao.'

It is recorded in the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* that A'ayshah said to Fattimah: 'Shall I not rejoice you by telling you that I heard the apostle of God—b. o. A., etc.—say: The princesses of the inhabitants of paradise are four—Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân; Fattimah, the daughter of Muhammad; Khodayjah, the daughter of Khowylad; and Asiah, the

[443] About forty-eight pounds sterling.

[444] This name is given to the father of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and ch. iii. of the Qurân bears the title, 'Family of E'mrân.'

daughter of Mozâhum, the wife of Pharao.' In the same book it is also mentioned that the lord of prophecy said: 'Paradise is anxious to receive four women—Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân; Asiah, the daughter of Mozâhum; Khodayjah, the daughter of Khowylad; and Fattimah, the daughter of Muhammad.'

In many respectable books it has been mentioned by veracious authors that one day Jebrâil—salutation to him—waited on his lordship the best of men—b. o. h. and on his family till the day of resurrection—and said: 'O apostle of God, this is Khodayjah, who is bringing to you a vessel full of almonds or of food. When she reaches you, announce to her the salutation of God and of me. Promulge to her the glad tidings that in paradise her abode will be in a hollow pearl, in which house there will be neither emnity nor strife.' When the lord Mussttafa [*i.e.*, Muhammad] had informed Khodayjah of the greeting of God the Most High and Jebrâil, she replied: 'Upon Jebrâil and upon you, O apostle of God, be also the peace, mercy and blessing of God,' which elegant words bear testimony to the perfect intellect and discernment of Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—because by the abundance of her penetration she was aware that the Most High could not be greeted as human beings are, and therefore she did not say 'and peace to God,' as some of the companions had done when they made their profession of the Faith and were reproved.

It is related of A'ayshah—m. A. r. h.—that she said: 'I bore no such intense jealousy towards any woman as towards Khodayjah, although she was no longer alive, when I was exalted to the bed of the apostle—b., etc.—because the seal of prophets remembered her much, and when he slaughtered a sheep, he cut it into pieces which he occasionally sent to the women who had been the friends of Khodayjah; and I said to him from jealousy: "Perhaps there existed no other woman besides Khodayjah?" To which he eplied: "She possessed many good qualities, and I had children by her." On a certain occasion Hâlah,

the sister of Khodayjah, knocked at the door for admission, when the apostle—b., etc.—remembered the reply he had given, and became sorry. But, according to another tradition, he was glad, and said: "O God, make her [*i.e.*, A'ayshah] like Hâlah." I, however, was jealous, and exclaimed: "What makes you remember so much a Qoraish hag, who was so old that she had no longer any teeth in her mouth, whose life has come to an end, and in whose stead God—whose name be glorified—has given you another and a better one?" Hereon his lordship became so angry that his head shook, and he exclaimed: "I swear by Allah that He has not given me a better wife! She believed in me when all were infidels. She considered me to be veracious when everybody accused me of falsehood. She aided me with her property when all men kept aloof from me, and the boundless Giver has vouchsafed to me children by her."' Ssiddyqah[445]—m. A. r. h.—says: 'I replied, I shall speak no more ill of Khodayjah.' According to another tradition, she said: 'I shall never blame you with reference to Khodayjah.'

It is related that one day Omm Zafar, who had been the tire-woman of Khodayjah, came on a visit to his lordship the best of men—greeting and peace to him—and he received her honourably, saying: 'This woman used to come to our house in Khodayjah's time.' And, 'A good custom is a part of religion.' According to the most prevalent and correct tradition, the death of Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—took place in the month Ramadzân, in the tenth year after the mission [A.D. 619]. The prophet—o. w. b. b. a. p.—entered her grave and buried her. It is in the Hajûn cemetery. According to the current tradition, she had attained the age of sixty, but according to another of sixty-five years, but Allah knows best the true state of the case.

445 A'ayshah is called by this name after the epithet of her father 'the righteous,' whose full name was Abu Bakr-ussidyq, namely, father of Bakr, the faithful witness to the truth.'

SOADAH—M. A. R. H.

Her cognomen was Omm[446] Alaswad. She was the daughter of Zamqah, s. of Qays, s. of A'bdu-sh-shams, s. of A'bdu, s. of Nadzar, s. of Mâlek, s. of Jabal, s. of A'amer, s. of Lowâ, s. of Ghâleb, and in Lowâ her pedigree becomes connected with that of the prophet—o. w. b. b., etc.—Her mother was Shamûs, the daughter of Qays, s. of A'mru, s. of Zayd, s. of Lobeyd, s. of Khoddâsh. Soadah had first been married to her cousin Sikrân, s. of A'mru, s. of A'bdu-sh-shams, and had by him a son called A'bdu-r-rahman, who attained martyrdom in the battle of Halaullâ, during the time of the Commander of the Faithful O'mar. Both Sikrân and Soadah had made their profession of Islâm in the beginning of the mission, and were enrolled among the exiles of Abyssinia; but after they had returned from that country to Mekkah, Soadah dreamt one night that his lordship the apostle—p. b. o. h.—had come to her, and had placed his foot on her neck. This dream she related to Sikrân, who replied: 'If you speak the truth I shall die, and Muhammad will marry you.' After the death of Sikrân, in the tenth year after the mission, the prophet had, according to authentic traditions, married and taken her to himself before A'ayshah, and her dowry was four hundred dirhems[447] of silver. When Soadah was overtaken by the weakness of old age, the apostle—b., etc.—wanted to divorce her, but she said: 'O prophet of God, do not divorce me, for I wish to have no carnal intercourse with you, because that appetite has left me; but I wish on the day of the resurrection to be reckoned among your noble spouses, and I yield my turn[448] to A'ayshah. Accordingly the prince of this world—b., etc.—gave up his intention.

[446] Although *Omm* literally means mother, it was often applied as a respectful term to women, and even to girls, thus being synonymous with 'madam' or 'miss.'

[447] About forty pounds sterling.

[448] The husband is supposed to have intercourse by turns with every one of his wives, unless she surrenders her right.

There is a tradition of Abu Harirah—m. A. r. h.—that he said: 'The apostle—b., etc.—took all his wives with him to the Hajjatu-l-wodaa' [pilgrimage of valediction], and on returning from that journey he said: "This was the pilgrimage of Islâm, which you have performed, and henceforth you are no longer under the obligation to repeat it. You must hereafter abandon travelling, and go nowhere." But after the decease of his lordship the prince of inspired messengers—b., etc.—the mothers of the Faithful again went on pilgrimage, except Soadah and Zaynab, the daughter of Jahash, who, acting according to the above injunction, and said: "After the death of the seal of prophets we shall mount no beast."' According to one tradition, the death of Soadah—m. A. r. h.—took place towards the end of the Khalifate of the Commander of the Faithful O'mar, and according to another it happened in the fifty-fourth year after the flight [A.D. 674], when the government of Moa'wiah prevailed. According to the first tradition, she was also the first person for whom a bier was made.

A'AYSHAH, DAUGHTER OF ABU BAKR, S. OF ABU QOHÂFAH— —M. A. R. H.

Her cognomen was Omm A'bdullah, and her mother was Omm Rumân, the daughter of O'mayr, s. of Aa'mer, of the Bani Wohmân B. Alhâreth B. Ghanam B. Mâlek B. Kananah. After Khodayjah—m. A. r. h.—had been removed to the highest paradise, the seal of prophets received A'ayshah into the bonds of matrimony when she was but six years old, and consummated it with her in the first year of the exile [A.D. 623], when she had become nine years of age. According to one tradition, her dowry was an amount of goods valued at fifty dirhems, but according to another it consisted of five hundred dirhems. A'ayshah—m. A. r. h.—was, according to the U'lamâ, distinguished by her knowledge of matters pertaining to

the religion,[449] like the companions. In prudence and intellect she was the foremost of all the mothers of the Faithful, so that certain scholars adhere with reference to her to a tradition, according to which the prophet—b., etc.—is asserted to have said regarding her: 'Take one-third of your religion from this Hamyra.'[450] Accordingly a great many of the companions and *Ta'bi's* [*i.e.*, followers who came after them] have recorded the sayings of A'ayshah. It is related that A'rwah B. Zobayr—m A. r. h.—said: 'I never saw anyone more versed in the meaning of the Qurân, and in the ordinances, obligations, commandments, permissions and prohibitions, ceremonies of the Arabs, and knowledge of genealogies, than A'ayshah—m. A. r. h.—and the saying of the lord of prophecy has been verified that "the excellence of A'ayshah is over [all other] women like the excellence of *Tharyd*[451] is over all other kinds of food."' It is related of Ssiddyqah herself that she said: 'I was exalted above all other women in ten things. First, no other virgin except myself has obtained the honour to be married to his lordship. Second, the father and mother of none of the mothers of the Faithful had undergone exile for the religion of God except my parents. Third, with reference to my purity and innocence verses have been revealed.[452] Fourth, before the prophet had married me, Jebrâil showed my portrait, drawn on a piece of silk, to his lordship, and had said: "Marry this person." Fifth, I and the prophet—b., etc.—washed from one vessel, which honour had not been attained by any other woman. Sixth, when his lordship was praying I was, contrary to his other wives, allowed to remain in bed on such occasions. Seventh, his

[449] The text says: 'She was of the number of *Muftis* among the companions.' A *Mufti* is one whose sentence has the authority of the Law.

[450] This is a name of endearment for A'ayshah.

[451] *Tharyd* is a dish of bread, meat, or fruits broken up, on which soup is poured.

[452] Qurân, ch. xxiv., 4-26. The verses were revealed for the purpose of exculpating A'ayshah from aspersions cast upon her, for having lagged behind the caravan on a certain occasion, and having some time afterwards been brought up to it by Ssafuwân. See page 435 of this work.

lordship received no Divine revelations when sleeping with any other woman, except with me. Eighth, the pure spirit of the best of men departed from my bosom [to the next world]. Ninth, his lordship died on the day when it was my turn [to cohabit with him]. Tenth, he was buried in my house.'

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that when his lordship the seat of prophecy was asked what man he loved most, he said: 'A'ayshah.' They asked: 'But of men?' And he replied: 'Her father.' It is known from authentic traditions that when the companions sent presents to his lordship, they despatched them to the house of A'ayshah to make them more acceptable. There were two divisions of the mothers of the Faithful; one consisted of A'ayshah, of Hafssah, of Soadah, and of Ssofyah; the other portion of Omm Solmah and of all the other pure spouses. Once the wives of the faction of Omm Solmah—m. A. r. h.—said to her: 'Request the lord of beings to tell the people not to send their gifts on the day of A'ayshah's turn, but when they have to present any, to send them to the house of any of the mothers of the Faithful in which his lordship might happen to be at the time.' Omm Solmah—m. A. r. h.—did as she was bid, but the seal of prophets—the most excellent salutations to him—rejoined: 'Do not distress me with reference to A'ayshah; for, verily, the Divine revelation has been sent to me in no other woman's sleeping apartment except in hers.' Omm Solmah then said: 'I ask pardon from God for having offended you, O apostle of God.' When those ladies were disappointed with Omm Solmah, they spoke on the subject to Fattimah, who likewise mentioned it to his lordship, and he asked: 'Daughter, lovest thou those whom I love?' She replied: 'I do.' His lordship said: 'Then love A'ayshah.'

In the chronicle of Hâfez Abru an account is inserted from the *Rabyi'-l-abrâr* and from the *Kâmelu-s-sapinah*, how Moa'awyah B. Abu Sofyân, who was at Madinah in the year 56 [A.D. 675] for the purpose of the inauguration

of Yasid, had insulted Husayn the son of A'li Murtadza, A'bdullah, the s. of O'mar, A'bdu-r-rahman, the s. of Abu Bakr, and A'bdullah—m. A. r. h.—in consequence whereof Ssiddyqah — m. A. r. h. — blamed and reproved him. Moa'awyah therefore dug a well in his house, covered its top with reeds, and placed on these a chair of ebony. Then he invited Ssiddyqah to an entertainment and seated her on that chair, so that she fell into the well, which Moa'awyah covered this time firmly with mortar, and departed from Madinah to Mekkah. In the *Raudzatu-l-ahbâb* it is, however, recorded that A'ayshah departed this life on Tuesday, the 17th of the month Ramadzân, in the year 58 [A.D. 677], in consequence of a natural disease. She was buried the very night in which she died. Abu Harirah—m. A. r. h.—held prayers over her body, and Qâsum B. Muhammad B. Abu Bakr-us-ssiddyq, with A'bdullah B. A'bdu-r-rahman B. Abu Bakr, mixed with the Qoraish who were digging her grave in the Baqyi' cemetery and helped to bury her. But [the true] knowledge is with Allah the Most High.

Hafssah, Daughter of O'mar B. Alkhattâb—may Allah reward her!

Her mother was Zaynab, the daughter of Motta'wum B. Habyb B. Wohb B. Hudhâfah. Hafssah was born five years before the mission. She was first married to Hanys B. Hudhâfah B. Qays Sahmy, who had been present at the battle of Bedr, and after his decease the apostle of Allah—bl., etc.—married her, towards the end of the second or the beginning of the third year after the exile [A.D. 624 or 625]. His lordship had once divorced her, and being shortly afterwards visited by Qodâmah and O'thmân, who were the sons of Motta'wum and uncles of Hafssah, she wept and said: 'The apostle of God has not divorced me on account of old age.' While they were conversing, his lordship condescended to make his appearance, whereon she covered her head with a veil, and he exclaimed: 'Jebrâil has said to me: "Take back Hafssah, because she fasts in the day

and prays during the night; she will be thy wife in paradise."'

The author of the *Guzidah* states that Hafssah—m. A. r. h.—died during the Khalifate of Dhu-n-nûryn [*i.e.*, O'thman]—Allah reward them both—in the year 27 [A.D. 647], but according to the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* that event happened at the time of the government of Moa'awyah in the year 45, or 41, or 47, or 50, after the exile [A.D. 665, 661, 667, or 670]. Merwân B. Alhukm held prayers over her corpse. According to one tradition Hafssah was sixty years old when she died, and her sepulchre is in the cemetery of Baqyi'.

ZAYNAB, THE DAUGHTER OF KHODHAYMAH—M. A. R. H.

Her pedigree is connected by six links with that of A'ameys B. Ssa'ssa'h. She was first the wife of Tofayl B. Alhâreth B. A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. After Tofayl had divorced her, his brother A'bdah B. Alhâreth married her according to one tradition, but according to another it was A'bdullah Hajash Asdy, and when her second husband had departed from this, to the eternal world, the lord of prophecy married her, during the month Ramadzân, in the third year after the exile [A.D. 625]; but she enjoyed that happiness only eight months, because in the month Rabyi' the second, of the fourth year after the exile, she died: some chroniclers even assert that she was only three months the wife of the prophet—bl., etc. On account of the mercy and kindness she manifested towards destitute persons, she was surnamed 'the mother of the poor.'

OMM SOLMAH,[43] DAUGHTER OF ABU OMMYAH—M. A. R. H.

She was called Hinda, and her father's name was Abu Ommyah, but, according to Ebn Jauzi, and according to some other historians, it was Khodayfah. It is also said that her father was Heshâm B. Almoghyrah B. A'bdullah B. O'mar B. Mahdûm B. Yaqytz B. Aqrah B. Ka'b B.

[43] This name may also be taken literally: 'mother of Solmah.'

Lowá B. Ghâleb [so that her pedigree also was connected with that of Muhammad]. Barrah, the daughter of A'bd-al-Muttalleb, who was the mother of Omm Solmah, having been the paternal aunt of the prophet, she was related to him on that side also. At first, Omm Solmah—m. A. r. h. —was the wife of Abu Solmah A'bdullah B. A'bdu-l-asad B. A'bdu-l-leyl, by whom she had four children, namely: Zaynab, Solmah, O'mar and Durrah. Both she and her husband had been refugees to Abyssinia, and when they had returned from that country to Madinah, her husband received a wound in the battle of Ohod, from which he died some time afterwards; whereon the prince of beings married her in the month Showâl during the fourth year after the exile. According to a certain tradition, her dowry was estimated at [only] four dirhems, but she was highly respected by the seal of prophets. Her death took place during the reign of Yazid, the s. of Moa'awiah, in the sixty-first year after the exile [A.D. 680]. Abu Harirah officiated in the prayers recited over her body, and she was interred in the Baqyi' cemetery. She had attained the age of sixty-four years, and died the last of all the pure spouses of the prince of existences.

Zaynab, Daughter of Jahash—m. A. r. h.

The genealogy of Jahash joins that of Khodhaymah B. Mudrikah, who was connected with the ancestors of the prophet—bl., etc.—in the following manner: Jahash was the s. of Ta'myr, s. of Dhysarah, s. of Murrah, s. of Kathyr, s. of Dudân, s. of Asad, s. of Khodhaymah. The mother of Zaynab was likewise the paternal aunt of his lordship the prophet—bl., etc.—she being Ammymah, the daughter of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb. The cognomen of Zaynab is Ommu-l-hukm, but her name was at first Barrah, which his lordship the best of men changed to Zaynab.

First the prophet—bl., etc.—had asked [the hand of] Zaynab for Zayd B. Hâreth; but her brother, A'bdullah, s. of Jahash, was averse to the match. Then the following blessed verse was revealed on the subject: 'It is not fit for

a true believer of either sex, when Allah and His apostle have decreed a thing, that they should have the liberty of choosing a different matter of their own.'[454] Subsequently they agreed to the marriage, and therefore his lordship the refuge of prophecy gave away Zaynab in marriage to Zayd, presenting her with a dowry of ten dinârs of gold, sixty dirhems of silver, a coif,[455] a wrapper, a garment, fifty mauns of wheat, and thirty measures of dates. During one year and more Zayd lived amicably with his wife, but after that time he said: 'O apostle of God, I divorce your aunt's daughter.'[456] Although his lordship knew by Divine revelation that Zaynab was to be enrolled among the mothers of the Faithful, he nevertheless said to Zayd: 'Take care of yourself and fear your Creator.' Zayd therefore cohabited a few days more with his wife, but divorced her at last. When, however, the *Y'det*[457] had elapsed, the prophet—bl., etc.—said during the month Dhu-l-qa'dah, in the fifth year after the exile [A.D. 626], to Zayd: 'Go and ask Zaynab in marriage for myself.' Zayd obeyed, but Zaynab said: 'I can give no reply until I have consulted my Creator.' Accordingly she retired to a corner and addressed her orisons to the courts of the Bountiful Granter of all good gifts, and prayed as follows: 'O God, Thy apostle intends to wed me. If I be worthy of him, them marry me to him.' The arrow of this request having hit the target of response, the following verse was revealed: 'But when Zayd had determined the matter concerning her [and had resolved to divorce her], we joined her in marriage unto thee; lest a crime should be [charged] on the true believers in [marrying] the wives of their adopted [sons] when they have determined the matter concerning them.'[458] On that occasion his lordship the refuge of

[454] Qurân, ch. xxxiii. 36.

[455] Coif made of fine linen about two cubits long, open in front.

[456] These words he is said to have uttered for fear of the prophet, who accidentally happened to see Zaynab alone and in undress.

[457] The *Y'det* is when it is unlawful to have intercourse with a woman, namely, when she is in mourning for the death of her husband, or divorced, or menstruous.

[458] Qurân, ch. xxxiii., part of ver. 37.

prophecy brought honorification to the house of Zaynab without previously causing his advent to be announced, whereon Zaynab exclaimed: 'O apostle of God, without a proposer and without a witness?' His lordship, however, rejoined: 'God celebrates our marriage, and Jebrâil will be our witness.' Then he ordered food and a banquet to be prepared, and the people ate till they were filled with meat and bread. On the same day also the verse of the 'Veil' was revealed, as is related in detail in voluminous books. Zaynab died in the twelfth year after the exile, and Fârûq the greater[450] —A. r. h.—held prayers over her. She died at the age of fifty years, and was interred in the Baqyi' cemetery.

JAUBARYAH, DAUGHTER OF ALHÂRETH—M. A. R. H.

Her name was Barrah, but his lordship the best of men changed it to Jaubaryah. She was the daughter of Alhâreth B. Dharâr B. Habyb B. A'abed B. Mâlek B. Khozaymah Khozaa'yah. Jaubaryah was first the wife of Dhu-sh-shafar B. Mosâfi' B. Ssafuwân, who was slain in the campaign of Marsyi', and the prophet—bl., etc.—married her during the month of Ramadzân of the sixth year after the exile [A.D. 627]. Jaubaryah died at Madinah in the year 55 or 56 [A.D. 674 or 675], and Merwân B. Alhukm prayed over her body. According to the tradition of Ebn Jauzi, her age was sixty-five years, but the true knowledge is with Allah.

OMM HABYBAH, DAUGHTER OF ABU SOFYAN—M. A. R. H.

According to one tradition her name was Ramlah, and according to another Hinda. Her mother was Ssofyah, the paternal aunt of O'thmân—m. A. r. h.—the Commander of the Faithful. She was the daughter of Abu-l-a'ass B. Ommyah B. A'bdu-sh-shams. Omm Habybah had made a profession of the Faith in the beginning of Islâm, and was married to A'bdullah B. Jahash Asdy, with whom

[450] *I.e.*, O'mar, who became Khalifah.

she lived several years, and also emigrated with him to Abyssinia. She had a daughter by him, but towards the end of his life A'bdullah became an apostate, professed Christianity, and died in his errors in Abyssinia. During the sixth year after the exile [A.D. 627] the best of men wrote a letter to the Najjâshy[460] requesting him to inform Omm Habybah that he desired to marry her. The Najjâshy explained the contents of that agreeable letter to Omm Habybah, and told her to appoint a deputy, whereon she named Khâled B. Sa'yd, through whom the Najjâshy married her, by proxy, to the lord of prophecy, in the presence of Ja'fer T'tayyâr[461]—m. A. r. h.—who was also one of the refugees of Abyssinia; and having granted her the sum of four hundred gold dinârs, or of four thousand silver dirhems, he paid that amount down during the ceremony, and despatched Omm Habybah, with Shorahbil and a number of Abyssinian refugees for her attendants, to his lordship the refuge of prophecy—b., etc.—and in the seventh year of the exile [A.D. 628] she was exalted to the company of his prophetic lordship. Her death took place during the reign of Moa'awiah, in the year 42 or 44 [A.D. 663 or 665], in the city of Madinah, and Merwân held prayers over her body; but according to others she died in Syria.

Ssofyah, Daughter of E. Ahttab—m. A. r. h.

She was a Jewess of the Bani Nadzyr, of the tribe Aaron —to whom salutation—and her mother was Dharr, the daughter of Samuel. Ssofyah was first the wife of Sollam, s. of Mashkam, and a separation having taken place between them, Kunânah B. Rabyi' B. Abu-l-haqyq married her, but was slain in the battle of Khayber, and Ssofyah became a prisoner of war. The best of men—b., etc.—however liberated and married her. Having given her the price of her liberation for her marriage-portion, he consummated the wedding in the station called Ssobân. When she became the spouse of the lord of prophecy she was

[460] Negus of Abyssinia. [461] Flying Ja'fer.

seventeen years old, and, according to the author of the *Gusidah*, she died A.H. 36; but according to others A.H. 50 or 52. She was buried in the Baqyi' cemetery.

MAYMÛNAH, DAUGHTER OF ALHÂRETH—M. A. R. E.

Her name was first Barrah, but the best of men—b., etc.—changed it to Maymûnah. She was the daughter of Alhâreth B. Hazan B. Bahyr B. Enhazam B. Rubah B. A'bdullah B. Hallâl B. A'mer B. Ssa'ssa'h. Her mother, Hinda, was the daughter of A'wuf B. Zohayr B. Alhâreth, of the tribe Hemyar, but others say of the tribe Konânah.

Hinda was considered to be the happiest old woman on earth, because God the Most High had vouchsafed her a son-in-law of high station. She had first two daughters by Hâreth: Maymûnah and Ommu-l-fadzl, the former being married to the prince of the world—b., etc.—and the latter to A'bbâs—A. r. h. By A'mys Khasha'y, who was her second husband, Hinda had also other daughters, one of whom was Asmâ, the first wife of Ja'fer B. Abu Ttâleb, afterwards married to Ssiddyq the greater[462]—A. r. them both—but when the Commander of the Faithful Abu Bakr died, she was married to [A'li] the sovereign of all virtues. Zaynab, another daughter of Hinda, whom she had by A'mys, was wedded by the Amir Hamzah, the prince of martyrs—A. r. h.—and Solmah, yet another daughter by the same husband, was given in marriage to Sadad B. Alhadâd.

In short, during the time of ignorance,[463] Maymûnah was married to Masu'd B. A'mru Saqfy, but after they had separated it happened that Abu-dirham, or A'bdu-l-u'zza, or Sarab, the son of Abu-dirham, or A'bdu-l-layl, the son of A'mru, married her. After the decease of her second husband, Maymûnah was, however, in consequence of her propitious destiny, in the seventh year after the exile [A.D. 629], exalted to the happiness of becoming the spouse of his lordship the prophet—b., etc.—who consummated the

[462] Abu Bakr, the successor of Muhammad.
[463] Namely, before the promulgation of Islâm.

marriage on his return from the O'mratu-l-qadzâ [the decreed pilgrimage] in the noble habitation of Maymûnah; but she died likewise in the same place, and was buried there, according to the author of the *Guzidah*. That event, however, took place in the year 38 [A.D. 658], and according to another tradition in 61 [A.D. 681]. If, therefore, the last tradition be correct, Maymûnah must have been the last of the mothers of the Faithful who died, and not Omm Solmah; the knowledge, however, is with the Most High and Holy.

THE CONCUBINES.

The prince of divinely inspired messengers—b., etc.—had four concubines. The first was Mâryah the Coptess, daughter of Shima'ûn, whom Maqoqush the governor [of Alexandria] had sent by way of gift to his lordship the best of men—b., etc.—who made use of her in the kingdom of Yemen [*sic*], and begat with her Ebrâhim. The death of Màryah took place during the time of the Khalifate of the Commander of the Faithful O'mar—A. r. h.—in the year 16 [A.D. 637], and she was buried in the Baqyi' cemetery.

Secondly: Rayhànah, who was a captive from among the Bani Nadzyr, or the Bani Qorytt; and the prophet—b., etc.—selected her for his own portion, leaving her the option to make a profession of Islàm or to remain in her own religion; Rayhànah, however, preferred to become a Musalmân, and his lordship made use of her in the kingdom of Yemen [*sic*]. There is, however, a tradition that in the Muharram of the sixth year of the exile [A.D. 627] he liberated her and married her, which assertion Wâqidy has accepted, but A'bdu-l-barr and others have reckoned her among the number of concubines. According to one tradition she died during the year of the Hajjatu-l-wodaa' [pilgrimage of valediction], but according to another in the time of the Khalifate of O'mar; the first, howevor, is more correct. Allah is most knowing and wise!

Thirdly: The slave-girl Jamylah who had fallen to the portion of his lordship the prophet—u. w. b.—from among the captives.

Fourthly: The slave-girl whom Zaynab, the daughter of Jahash had presented to his lordship.

Let it not remain concealed that, as there would be no use in enumerating the women to whom his lordship was betrothed, but had not consummated the marriage, or whom he merely asked to marry, and was not even betrothed to them, their names are here omitted.

THE SONS OF THE BEST OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD—B., ETC.

By universal consent the number of the male children of the intercessor on the day of the resurrection amounted to three, namely, Qâsim A'bdullah, and Ebrâhim.

Qâsim was born by Khodayjah—A. r. h.—in Mekkah, before the mission.[464] He lived only two years, and then hastened to the eternal world.

A'bdullah, who was surnamed 'the agreeable,' was born of Khodayjah after the mission, and died in infancy.

Ebrâhim was the son of Mâryah the Coptess, and was born at Madinah in the eighth year of the exile [A.D. 629-30]. On the seventh day after his birth the apostle —b., etc.—slaughtered a sheep to celebrate his nativity, got his head shaved, and distributed as alms a sum of gold equal in weight to his hair. According to a certain tradition, Omm Sayf, the wife of Abu Sayf the blacksmith, was appointed to nurse Ebrâhim, who lived almost one year and a half, and died in the tenth year of the exile [A.D. 631-32]. After his death Ebrâhim was washed by his nurse, but according to another tradition, Fadzl B. A'bbas —A. r. t.—performed that duty. A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf —A. r. t.—poured the water on his corpse, and his lordship the seat of prophecy was present at the ablution. In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is, however, stated that, according to the most correct tradition, the prophet—b., etc.—prayed over his body, and sat at the head of his grave until he was

[464] A.D. 610 was the year of the mission.

interred. Fadzl, the son of A'bbâs, and Asâmah, the son of Zayd, entered the sepulchre, and when they had finished the burial, they arranged the surface of the grave and poured water over it; and the first grave in Islâm over which water was poured was that of the lord Ebrâhim; but the knowledge is with God, whom we adore.

The Noble Daughters.

The number of the exalted daughters of the prince of existences—b., etc.--amounted, according to the consent of the whole Sunni sect, to four, namely, Zaynab, Raqyah, Omm Kalthûm, and the princess of women, Fattimah Zohrâ—salutation to them. The author, however, of the *Aa'llâmu-l-wardâ*, and some other Shia'h U'lamâ, allege that his lordship the best of men had no daughters except Zohrâ, and that Zaynab, Raqyah, and Omm Kalthûm had only been adopted by his lordship from Khodayjah the greater. But in this respect the plain statement of the author of the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* tallies with the opinion of the entire Sunni sect; for when enumerating the spouses of the Commander of the Faithful A'li—b., etc.—he says: 'Muhammad Allawsatt's mother was Emâmah, the daughter of Abu-l-a'ass, and this Emâmah was the daughter of Zaynab, the daughter of the apostle of God—b., etc.'; and also, when mentioning the children of Khodayjah by A'tyq, the son of A'abedah Makhzûmy, and by Abu Hâlah, he names Zaynab and Raqyah and Omm Kalthûm; but the knowledge is with God, whose name be exalted and hallowed!

Zaynab was, according to the first [*i.e.*, Sunni] tradition, born thirty years after the catastrophe of the elephant,[465] and when she attained the age of puberty she was married to her maternal aunt's son Abu-l-a'ass B. Rabyi' B. A'bdu-l-u'zza B. A'bdu-sh-shams B. A'bd Munâf; and her husband having been made prisoner in battle, Zaynab sent the necklace which Khodayjah—A. r. h.—had given her as his

[465] Qurân, ch. cv., bears the title 'The Elephant,' and this catastrophe happened in the very year of the prophet's birth, A.D. 570.

ransom from Mekkah to Madinah. When the eye of the apostle of God—b., etc.—alighted on that trinket, he remembered Khodayjah — A. r. h. — was much touched, sent it back again, and liberated Abu-l-a'ass, but said to him: 'When you arrive in Mekkah you must send Zaynab to me, because Islâm and unbelief have separated you.' Abu-l-a'ass did as he was told, but some time afterwards the love of Islâm took root in his heart, so that he went to Madinah and became a Musalmân. According to one tradition, the lord of prophecy restored to him Zaynab by the right of his previous marriage, but according to another he renewed it. Zaynab had by Abu-l-a'ass a son, A'li by name, and a daughter called Emâmah, the former dying before the age of puberty; but the latter was married to A'li Murtadza after the demise of the princess of women, according to her own last wish. The death of Zaynab took place during the lifetime of the lord of existences—b., etc.—in the eighth year of the exile [A.D. 629-30]. Her corpse was washed by Soadah, the daughter of Zama'h, by Omm Solmah, Omm Ayman, and Omm O'ttyah the Anssaryah. His lordship the best of men presented his own loin-cloth to her, which became afterwards a custom, and after she had been washed and shrouded, he held prayers over her corpse, entered the sepulchre, and buried her.

Raqyah was, according to the U'lamâ of the Sunnis, born in the thirty-third year after the catastrophe of the elephant, and when she attained the age of puberty she was married to O'tbah B. Abû Lahab; but before the marriage was consummated the Sûrah *Tabbat*[466] was revealed, whereon Abu Lahab advised his son to divorce Raqyah, which that wretch did in the presence of the best of men, adding also other insulting expressions; but his

[466] This is the title and also the first word of chapter cxi. of the Qurân. This Sûrah being very short, I here subjoin a literal translation of the whole of it: 'Perish the hands of Abu Lahab, and perish he. Not will enrich him his property, nor what he gained He will go down into fire, endued with flames; and his wife the carrier of the wood; on her neck a rope of palm-fibres.'

lordship raised his hands in prayer, and said: 'O God, appoint over him a dog of Thy dogs!' Shortly afterwards O'tbah had occasion to travel to Syria, and in the halting-place Zaraqâ, one night, a lion made an end of him by sending him to the abyss of hell. After that the prophet of the latter times gave Raqyah in marriage to the Commander of the Faithful O'thmân, and Dhu-n-nûryn emigrated with her to Abyssinia, where she had a son by him, called A'bdullah, who reached the age of two or of six years, when a cock struck his eyes with the beak and he died. Raqyah departed this life in the second year of the exile [A.D. 623-24] and according to the most correct tradition the prophet—b., etc.—had at that time not yet returned to Madinah from the expedition of Bedr.

Omm Kalthûm—A. r. h.—had first been named Aminah and was betrothed to O'tibah the son of Abu Lahab, who likewise repudiated her by his father's command and his brother's precedent, before consummating the marriage. After the death of Raqyah, Kalthûm was in the third year of the exile [A.D. 624-25] given in marriage to the Commander of the Faithful O'thmân—A. r. h.—and according to a certain tradition she had one child by Dhû-n-nûryn, but according to another she had many, all of whom died, however, in their infancy. Omm Kalthûm departed to the gardens of paradise in the ninth year of the exile [A.D. 630-31], and her corpse was washed by Asmâ, the daughter of O'mys; by Ssofyah, the daughter of A'bd-ul-Muttalleb; and by Omm O'ttyah the Anssaryah. The prophet—b., etc.—was present near her grave and wept. When Omm Kalthûm was lowered into her tomb, he said: 'From it we have created you, to it we return you, and from it we shall take you out a second time.' He further said: 'In the name of Allah, in the path of Allah, and in the religion of the apostle of Allah.'

The princess of women, Fattimah Zohrâ—A. r. h.—was, according to the statements of all the chief U'lamâ and scholars, the most beloved of the children of the prophet of latter times, and was by her superior nobility of mind

and excellent qualities distinguished above all her brothers and sisters. It is recorded in the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* that Ebn Khisâb has, in his chronicle of the births and deaths of the members of the family of the prince of existences, stated, with the proper authorities taken from Abu Ja'fer Muhammad B. A'li Albâqer—b., etc.—that the birth of Fattimah—A. r. h.—took place five years after the announcement of prophecy and the descent of revelation, and that she departed from this world at the age of eighteen years and seventy-five days; but according to another tradition she terminated her noble life at the age of eighteen years, one month, and fifteen days. She lived with her father in Mekkah for eight years, and she fled to Madinah with the apostle of God—b., etc.—and dwelt with him there ten years, and she was then eighteen years old. She lived with the Commander of the Faithful A'li—b., etc.—seventy-five days after the death of her father, but according to another tradition forty days. In the *Tanfyh* of Ebn Jauzy it is stated that the birth of Fattimah—o. w. peace—took place five years before the mission, and in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* two traditions are recorded on this subject, the first whereof agrees with that of the *Tanfyh*, but the second is to the effect that this luminary of the sphere of prophecy arose from the horizon of nativity in the forty-first year after the catastrophe of the elephant. In the just-mentioned work it is also narrated that the decease of Fattimah—salutation to her—took place during the night of Tuesday, the third day of the month Ramadzân, which happened six, and according to others three, months after the death of the prophet. On account of the two traditions adopted from the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* concerning the birth of Fattimah—A. r. h.—that noble lady must have reached the age of twenty-eight or of twenty-two years; but the [true] knowledge is with Allah.

In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* it is recorded, according to the precedent of those who walk in the paths of the Emâms, that the prince of the righteous—b., etc.—had

said: 'During the night of my ascension I ate one fresh date of the fruits of the trees of eternity, which was more soft than butter and more sweet than honey, and the essence of that date generated seed within my loins. When I [again] alighted on earth I approached Khodayjah —A. r. h.—and she became pregnant with Fattimah.' The seal of prophets—b., etc.—also said: 'O Khodayjah, the faithful spirit of Allah[467] has apprised me that this child will be a daughter. Call her Fattimah, because it is a pure and blessed name.'

When the time of the delivery of Khodayjah was near at hand, she sent for several of her relatives to aid her on that occasion; but as she had incurred their displeasure by marrying the prophet—b., etc.—they would not comply with her request, so that she was much distressed. Nevertheless, four women, resembling those of the tribe Bani Hashem, suddenly made their appearance, and Khodayjah was afraid of them. One of them, however, said: 'Fear naught, for God the Most High has sent us to you. We are your visitors. I am Sarah; this is Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân; the third is Kalthûm, the sister of Moses; and the fourth is Asiah, the wife of Pharao. They will be your companions in paradise.' Then one of these women sat down on the right and another on the left of Khodayjah, the third in her front, and the fourth in her rear, until Fattimah was born. When this took place a light shone from that infant of laudable end, which encircled the houses of Mekkah from the east and west, so that there was no spot in any house which was not illuminated by that light:

Distich: The light of prosperity shone,
Making my heart to gladness prone.

In the above-named work it is also recorded that the Lord and Bestower of all gifts sent ten Hûris from the uppermost paradise into the apartment of the pure Khodayjah, each of whom brought a basin and a pitcher

[467] *I.e.*, Gabriel.

full of water from the Kawthar.[468] Then the woman sitting in front of Khodayjah took hold of Fattimah and washed her with that water from paradise, and afterwards she brought forth white and extremely fragrant swaddling clothes in which she wrapped the infant; then she drew a similar cloth over the child's head by way of a coif, and said: 'Take her, Khodayjah. Give way to no apprehensions, for blessing is in her and in her progeny.' Then the other women congratulated Khodayjah and departed, whilst she embraced Fattimah with great joy and happiness. When the lord of prophecy—b., etc.—entered, he took the darling child into his arms, called her Fattimah, and surnamed her Omm Muhammad, but her sobriquets are numerous, such as, the blessed, the pure, the innocent, the pleasing, the pleased, the orthodox, the Vestal,[469] and Zohrâ.[470]

It is related by the true Emâm Ja'fer Ssâdiq—b., etc.—that his holy and prophetic lordship asked Fattimah one day whether she knew why she was called by that name, and A'li the Commander of the Faithful having thereon also asked for the reason, his lordship replied: 'Because she delivered her soul from fire.' It is related that Hayder Karâr[471]—b., etc.—said: 'Verily the prophet was asked what *Betûl* meant, and he replied: "It is a woman who never sees redness; namely, she never menstruates, because menstruation is hateful in the daughters of prophets."' It is recorded that the Emâm Muhammad Allâqer—b., etc.—having been asked why the princess of women had been surnamed Zohrâ, he replied: 'Because God had magnified her, and when she arose she illuminated the heavens and the earth with her light, and the eyes of the angels were dazzled, so that they prostrated

[468] This is the title of ch. cviii. of the Qurân, and is generally explained as the name of a lake or river in paradise.

[469] The word in the text is *Betûl*, which means 'virgin,' and is an epithet of Fattimah, but among Eastern Christians of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[470] *Zohrâ* means the planet Venus, and also bright, lovely, splendid, etc.

[471] Meaning, 'lion of attack,' one of the names of A'li.

themselves, worshipping God, and saying: "O our God and Lord, what is this light?" Whereon God vouchsafed to them the following revelation: "This is a light of My light; I cause it to dwell in My heaven; I created it from My greatness; I produced it from my forehead, and from a prophet more excellent than all the other prophets. From that light I shall produce Emâms who will promulge My commands, and propagate My truth, and I shall cause them to be Khalifahs on My earth;" and here the revelation ceased.'

As has been narrated above, the lord of dominion [*i.e.*, Ali] married in the second year of the exile [A.D. 623] the princess of women, who was on that occasion, according to the tradition of the Emâms of the family [of Muhammad], nine, but according to another statement fourteen, years old. Some even assert that she was twenty years of age.

It is related in the *Ssohâh-akhbâr* that when A'yshah —A. r. h.—was asked what person the prophet of genii and men loved most, she replied: 'Fattimah.' They said: 'Of men?' She replied: 'Her husband.' It is likewise related of Saiddyqah—A. r. h.—that she said: 'I never saw any person resembling the apostle of God more than Fattimah in her countenance, in elegance of speech, in dignity, and in all her motions. Whenever Fattimah paid a visit to the best of men he rose, kissed her, and made her sit down in his own place. Whenever his lordship the refuge of prophecy came to her house, Fattimah acted in the same manner. It is also an authentic fact that the prophet—b., etc.— said: 'Fattimah is a part of me; whoever injures her injures me, and whoever angers her angers me.' According to some traditions, he also said: 'Allah gets angry when Fattimah gets angry.'

It is related of Thaubân, the freed man of the prophet of the last times, that he said: 'When the best of men started on a journey, the last person of whom he took leave was Fattimah Zohrâ, and when he returned the first person whom he met was *Betûl*.' In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* there is a tradition of Abu Ayâb that the prophet—u. w. b.

—said: 'On the day of the resurrection a herald will exclaim from within the throne [of God]: "O ye assembled people, bend down your heads and shut your eyes, that Fattimah may pass to the bridge Sserâtt,[472] and with her seventy thousand Hûris having large eyes will walk as attendants."' It is related of Abu Sa'yd Khadhry—A. r. h.—that he said: 'The prophet—b., etc.—declared that Fattimah will be the best of women in paradise, except Mariam, the daughter of E'mrân.' In the book on the pupil of the eye [*i.e.*, on Fattimah] it is narrated in detail that when the blessed verse 'And to relatives their dues' was revealed, the lord of beings—b., etc.—presented to Fattimah Zohrá the landed property of Fadak, which afterwards Ssiddyq Akbar added to all the other possessions left [by the prophet after his death], but would not surrender to her. When the Commander of the Faithful A'li, and Zohrâ—A. r. t.—spoke to him on the subject, he replied: 'I heard the apostle of God—b., etc.—say: "We prophets do not appoint heirs"' In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* it is related of the Emam Muhammad Albâqer—p. b. o. h.—that after the decease of the prophet the Commander of the Faithful A'li said to the princess of women: 'Go to the successor of the apostle of God and ask for your inheritance.' She did so, but Abu Bakr replied: 'A prophet has no heirs.' She retorted, saying: 'Did not Solomon inherit the property of David?' He repeated: 'A prophet has no heirs.' She continued: 'Has not God—whose name be blessed and exalted—said: "God recommends to you your children"?' In short, several voluminous books embody whatever passed on this subject between the Commander of the Faithful A'li and the Commander of the Faithful Abu Bakr and the Commander of the Faithful O'thmân; but Abu Bakr again restored Fadak to the members of the [prophet's] family. He gave, however, to Betûl

[472] This bridge is finer than a hair and sharper than a sword. The wicked will fall from it into hell, but the good will pass it easily on the day of judgment.

Zohrâ nothing else of what the prince of beings had left, and this appears to be very strange to everyone.[473]

It is related in many respectable historical works that when Fattimah—b., etc.—was struck by the calamity of losing her father the best of men, she wept and lamented so much from morning till evening that she distressed the inhabitants of Madinah, who sent her the following message: 'O daughter of the prophet of God, if you weep during the day, take rest in the night, that we may also have peace; and if you weep in the night, be silent during the day, and we shall likewise obtain repose.'

It is related of the Emâm Ja'fer—p. b. o. h.—that he said: 'There were five weepers in the world: Firstly, Adam, who cried so much after his expulsion from paradise that two rivers [of tears] were flowing on his face. Secondly, Jacob, who wept so much on account of his separation from Joseph—s. t. h.—that he became blind. Thirdly, Joseph, who deplored in prison his separation from Jacob to such a degree that all the captives were distressed. Fourthly, Fattimah—p. t. h.—who wept so much after the death of the prophet—b., etc.—that the inhabitants of Madinah sent her the following message: "O darling of the lord of existences, you have indeed distressed us by your fervent lamentations." Then Betûl Zohrâ betook herself at last to the cemetery of the martyrs, and wept there. Fifthly, the fourth Emâm, who was constantly shedding tears on account of the calamity of Kerballa, so that his attendants could never place any food before him without its being moistened by the water of his eyes.' It is related of Muhammad Albâqer the Emâm of exalted memory that he said: 'After the decease of his holy and prophetic lordship, no one ever saw Fattimah laugh till her very dying day.' It is related that Zohrâ—s. t. h.—called in her last malady for Solmy the freed woman of the lord Mussttafa, and said: 'Bring me

[473] Abu Bakr is by some alleged to have disliked A'li because he might have become the successor of the prophet; but A'ayshah is said to have managed to keep away A'li during the last moments of the prophet's life for fear he might appoint him successor in lieu of her own father, Abu Bakr.

some water for ablution.' Solmy narrates: 'After she had washed herself so beautifully as I had never before seen anyone doing it so well, she asked for clean garments and donned them. Then she ordered me to spread out her couch, whereon she reclined, turned with her right side to the Qiblah, and, placing her right hand beneath her face, she said: "Solmy, I shall this moment depart from the abode of perishableness to the mansions of eternity, and I have washed myself that no one may undress me." When she had uttered these words, her spirit took flight to the upper regions.' Shortly afterwards A'li the Commander of the Faithful—b., etc.—entered, and, witnessing the scene, poured forth tears from the clouds of his eyes. This event is, according to the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb*, described in the same manner by Muhammad B. Sa'd and the amanuensis in his *Ttabaqât*; but if it be true, it must be considered as one of the peculiarities of Fattimah—A. r. h.—because it is against the commandments of the doctors of the law [to omit the ablution of a corpse].

In the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* it is related that Betûl Zohrâ—s. t. h.—when she was near her death, called Asmâ the daughter of O'mys, and said: 'Asmâ, one day Jebrâil—s. t. h.—paid a visit to my father when he was sick, and brought him some camphor of paradise for his *Hanûtt*.[474] My father divided it into three parts. Keeping one for himself and giving the other two to me, he said: "Preserve the one share for yourself, and the other for A'li Murtadza." Asmâ, that camphor, which weighs forty mithqâls, I have laid by in a certain place. The twenty mithqâls which belong to me you are to put near my head; but give the other twenty to the lord A'li Murtadza.' When Asmâ had done this, Fattimah—s. t. h.—said: 'Go out and leave me alone. Call out my name after a short time: if I answer, it is all well and good; but if I remain silent, be aware that I have departed to my noble father.' Asmâ obeyed, and shortly afterwards called out: 'O daughter of Muhammad the elect!' but received no answer. She there-

[474] Any aroma or perfume intended for a corpse.

fore again entered the apartment, and, removing the veil from the countenance of the princess of women, she perceived that her soul had departed from the abode of grief to the palace of joy. Then she prostrated herself, approached, and kissed her, saying: 'O Betûl, when you arrive in the paradise of your father, convey to him my greeting and petition.' On that occasion the lord and Emâm Hasan entered with the Emâm Husayn—b., etc.—and asked: 'Asmâ, is our mother asleep?' Asmâ replied: 'Your mother is not asleep, but has departed to the proximity of the mercy of the Lord of lords.' Hereon both commenced to weep and to lament, and proceeded to the mosque of the Arabian prophet for the purpose of informing A'li Murtadza—b., etc.—of the event. When they had reached the vicinity of that blessed locality their voices of lamentation became very loud, so that some of the companions who were sitting there with A'li exclaimed: 'What makes you cry, O [grand] sons of the prophet of God? Allah forfend that you should weep!' Then they related what had taken place, and the lion of attack—b., etc.—was so overpowered by grief that he fell prostrate on his face, and uttered the following words: 'O daughter of the prophet of God, after his lordship's death you were my consolation; but who will calm the pain of endless separation and of infinite exile when you are no more?' Then he pronounced the following two distichs:

Each meeting of two friends has an end,
Every grief is slight, except separation;
If I have lost Fattimah after Ahmad,
It is a sign that no friend remains.

Then the king and refuge of dominion [*i.e.*, Ali] hastened to the apartment of Ttâherah,[475] and ordered Asmâ to wash and to shroud the princess of the women of both worlds, and interred her body in the Baqyi' cemetery. The author of the *Kashafu-l-ghummah* says: 'Ebn Babuyah—A. h. m. o. h.—reports the matter as follows, and I consider him to be correct: She was buried in her own house, but when

[475] Literally, 'the pure one,' *i.e.*, Fattimah.

the [graves of the] Ommyades increased in the mosque her body was [likewise] interred in the same, and in what I have reported I have only stated what is known and generally believed by the people, by historians and biographers, that, as stated above, she had been interred in the Baqyi' cemetery.'

It is related in the *Raudzatu-l-ahbâb* that according to one tradition A'li Murtadza, and according to another A'bbas—A. r. t.—prayed over the corpse of Fattimah. The next day the two Sheikhs—A. r. t.—and all the companions of the best of men, reproached Hayder [the Lion, *i.e.*, A'li] the Commander of the Faithful, saying: 'Why have you not informed us, that, by being present at the honour of the prayers over Fattimah, we might ourselves have been honoured?' But the king of dominion answered: 'I have acted thus by her own injunction.'

In the *Raudzatu-sh-shahdâ* [mausoleum of martyrs] it is recorded that according to the tradition of the *Ahlu-l-beyt* [members of the family] the death of Fattimah, the daughter of the prince of existences, took place on Tuesday, the third day of the blessed month Ramadzân, in the eleventh year of the exile [A.D. 632], and that she was buried in the *Raudzat-maqadasat* [sacred mausoleum].

The author of the present work states that some who wrote down the traditions concerning the members of the family assert that Zohrâ died seventy-five days after the prince of mortals; others, however, say forty days. The *Kashafu-l-ghummah* has a tradition from the *Dhariat-Ttâharat*, the author of which is Dullaby, that Zohrâ lived three months after the decease of the Musttafa—b., etc.—and the number of days given by the Emâm Muhammad Albâqer is ninety-five. None of these traditions, however, imply that this great calamity had taken place on the third day of the blessed month Ramadzan, because in reality the death of the daughter of the prince of existences took place at the end of the month Ssafar, or in the beginning of Rabi' anterior in the same year; the [true] knowledge, however, is with God, who is to be adored.

In the *Tanqyh* of Ebn Jauzy it is recorded that Fattimah Zohrâ—s. t. h.—had four children, namely, the Emâms Hasan and Husayn, Zaynab, and Omm Kalthûm. Zaynab was married to A'bdullah, the son of Ja'fer Ttayyâr—A. r. t.—and gave birth to two sons, O'beydullah and A'wun. Fârûq the greater [*i.e.*, the Khalifah O'mar] espoused Omm Kalthûm during his own reign, and begat with her a son, Zayd by name. After the demise of O'mar the Commander of the Faithful—A. r. h.—A'wun, the son of Ja'fer, married her, and after he had also died Muhammad, another son of Ja'fer, married her, and had a daughter by her. When Muhammad had likewise departed to the eternal world, A'bdullah, yet another son of Ja'fer, married Omm Kalthûm and she died in his house.

According to a tradition of Ebn Esahâq and Lyth B. Sa'd, Fattimah—s. t. h.—had two other children, namely, Hasan and Raqyah, both of whom died in infancy. It is recorded in the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* that neither Zaynab nor Omm Kalthûm left any offspring at all, and that therefore the descendants of the seal of prophets are all the progeny of the Emâms Hasan and Husayn—salutation to our prophet and to both of them, as well as to all the pure Emâms our guides, the Khalifahs and directors; abundant and consecutive salutations to them till the day of the resurrection.

Names of the Amanuenses of the Seal of Prophecy—B., etc.

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that the amanuenses of the prophet—b., etc.—were four in number, as follows: A'li B. Abu T'âleb, and O'thmân B. U'ffân, and Abu B. Ka'b, and Zayd B. Thâbet. The arrangement was that O'thmân the Commander of the Faithful and the king of men [*i.e.*, Ali] used to write, and that any errors committed by them were rectified by Abu B. Ka'b when arranging the verses [of the Qurân]. When none of the four men were present in the august assembly, any companion who happened to be near wrote [from the dictation

of the prophet] Zobayr B. Ala'wwâm and Jahym B. Assillat—A. r. t.—were appointed to keep accounts of the goods of the Ssadaqât,[476] always writing down also when the Dzakât was received, and for what purpose it was expended. Khodyfah B. Alymân registered contingent receipts, Moghyrah B. Sha'bah and Hussyn B. Nomyr were appointed to note down business transactions, while A'bdullah B. Arqum kept correspondence with kings, and the king of saints [A'li] wrote treaties of peace. The names of all the writers of the prophet of the last times are contained in voluminous books, but the author omits to enumerate them, for fear of incurring the charge of prolixity.

The Alms-gatherers of the Prince of Existences —B., etc.

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that A'bdu-r-rahman B. A'wuf was the alms-gatherer among the Bani Kalab, A'bdy B. Hâtum among the Ttay, O'tbyah B. Hassan among the Qorârah, Ayâs B. Qays among the Bani Asad, Wolyd B. A'qbah among the Mossttalaq, Hâreth B. A'wuf Morry among the Bani Morrah, Masu'd B. Rahyl among the Ashja', the O'ttfân and the Bani A'ys, A'jum B. Ssofyân among the A'drah, the Sollamân and the Jahanyah, A'bbâs Mordâs among the Bani Salym, Wolyd B. Alhâjab among the tribe Wârum, A'amer B. Mâlek B. Jajer among the Bani A'amer B. Ssa'ssa'h, Sa'd B. Mâlek and A'wuf B. Mâleku-n-nadzry and Dhohâk B. Sofyân Kallâby among the Bani Kallâb.

Servants of the Best of Men —b., etc.

In the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* it is recorded that biographical works enumerate twenty-seven men and eleven women as the servants of the best of men—b., etc.

Of the male attendants one was Anis B. Mâlek—A. r. h.—who waited on that prince during ten years. Another

[476] *Ssadaqât* are the voluntary, and *Dzakât* the legal, indispensable alms.

was Rabya'h B. Ka'b, whose duty it was to prepare the water for the sacred ablution of his lordship. Another was A'bdullah B. Masu'd, who had the sandals, the toothpick, the pillow and the cane of his lordship under his charge. Another was O'qbah B. A'amer, who guided the mule of the best of men during journeys. The names, however, of all the male and female servants are as follows: Ballâl the Abyssinian, who was the Muedhdhin,[477] and Sa'd, both of whom were freed men of Abu Bakr Ssiddyq; Makhrakah, also named Dhu Mokhayr, who was the cousin of the Najjâshy [*sic*]; Bakr B. Shaddatch Leythy; Abu Dharr Ghuffâry Asla', the partner of Aswad B. Mâlek Asdy; Ayman B. Omm Ayman, the bearer of his lordship's washing pot; Tha'lebah B. A'bdu-r-rahman the Anssâry; Khord B. Mâlek; Sâlem Sâboq Sâlemy the Mohâjer,[478] the slave of Omm Solmah—A. r. h.; Na'ym B. Abu Rabya'h Aslamy; Abu-l-hamra; Hallâl B. Alhâreth; Abussamyh; Abu Sallâm; and Abu O'beydah, who was a young man of the Anssâr. The names of the females are: Harethah-ummatullah, the daughter of Rabya'h; Barakah; Ayman; Hadzarah; Knowlah, the grandmother of Hafssah; Zarybah, the mother of A'lyah; Solmy, the mother of Râfi'; Mâryah, the mother of Arrabâb; Mâryah, the grandmother of Mathanna B. Ssâleh; Maymûnah, the daughter of Sa'd; and Ssofyah, the mother of A'yâsh.

The Freed Men of the Prophet—B., etc.

The liberated slaves were fifty-nine in number, whose names are as follows: Zayd B. Hârethah B. Shorahbi, who was the commander of the Saryah[479] of Mowtah, and was slain in that battle; Asamah Zayd Thaubân

[477] One is attached to every mosque. When the time for prayers approaches, he mounts to the highest part of it, stops his ears with his hands, and gives out the call to prayers as loud as he is able.

[478] The *Anssâr*, or 'helpers,' are those inhabitants of Madinah who protected the prophet. *Mohâjers*, or 'refugees, exiles,' are those inhabitants of Mekkah who fled thence on account of their religion and joined Muhammad.

[479] *Saryah* is any expedition in which the prophet was not, and *Ghazwah* one in which he was, personally present.

B. Mohadd, who was surnamed A'bdullah; Abu Kabshah, who bore the cognomen of Salym or A'wûs; Ansah, whose sobriquet is Abu Masarrah; Ssâleh, who was surnamed Shuqrân; Ryâh; Ysâr; Abu Râfi', surnamed Aslam; Abu Muhabah; Abu-l-bahy, whose name was Râfi' and whose father was Abu Râfi'; the uncle of Rafaa'h B. Zayd Alkhuddâmy; Zayd, the grandfather of Hallâl B. Ysâr; O'bey B. A'bdu-l-ghuffâr, who was appointed over a ship which bore the name of Ttohûn, or Kysan, or Mahrân, or Zakwân, or Ruban, or O'bos; the Copt Wâqid, also named Abu Wâqid; Heshâm; Abu Dhomayrah, who is by some also named Sa'd, by others Ruh B. Sindad, and by others Omm Shyrâr the Hemyarite; Hanyn Abu Asyb, surnamed Hamar or Murrah; Abu O'baydah; Aslam B. Abu O'baydah; Aflah Alkhubshâh; Bâdâm; Khatum; Badr; Zayd B. Naollâ; Sa'yd B. Faryd; Sa'd B. Kathyr B. Solmân the Persian; Sindâd Shima'ûn, who was the father of Rayhûnah; Dhomayran; A'bdullah B. Dhomayrah; A'bdullah B. Aslam; Ghayllân; Fodhâlah Alyemeny; Naqyr; Karyb; Muhammad B. A'bdu-r-rahman, whose name was first Nâhabah, but the prophet—b., etc.—changed it to Makhûl; Nâfi', whose cognomen is Abu Ssâyb; Sah Nahyk, whose surname was Abu Bakr, but some called him Abu Kysân; Ruwân; Ysar; Abu Tylah; Abu-l-bashar; Abu Ssofyâ; Abu-l-bâbah; Abu Naqbatt; Abu-l-ysir; and in the *Tanfyh* of Ebn Jauzy it is recorded, according to the tradition of Abu Bakr B. Hazam, that one of the freed men of the lord of prophecy—b., etc.—was named Qirqorah, but some write it Karkorah; and Mossa'b alleges that Maqauqes [the Governor of Egypt] presented him [*i.e.*, the prophet] with a eunuch called Mâmûr or Mâbûr.

According to the *Raudzatu-l-âhbâb* the lord of existences—to whom be the most excellent blessings and the most perfect congratulations—possessed nine manumitted female slaves, whose names were as follows: Solmy, Omm Râfi', Radswy, Omm Rayhah, Sâybah, Mâryah, Shyryn, the sister of Mâryah [name not given], and Dhomayrah. Ebn

Jauzy, however, also reckons Omm Ayman, otherwise called Barakah, Maymunah, the daughter of Sa'd, and Maymûnah, the daughter of Abu Asyb, among the liberated female slaves of his lordship; the [true] knowledge, however, is with Allah the Most High!

APPENDIX B.

In the preceding pages frequent reference is made to events happening in certain months. For ready reference the names of the Muhammadan months are here given:

1. Muharram.	7. Rajab.
2. Safar.	8. Sha'bân.
3. Rabyi' 1st.	9. Ramadzan.
4. Rabyi' 2nd.	10. Shawwal.
5. Jomâdi 1st.	11. Dhu-l-qa'dah.
6. Jomàdi 2nd.	12. Dhu-l-hejjah.

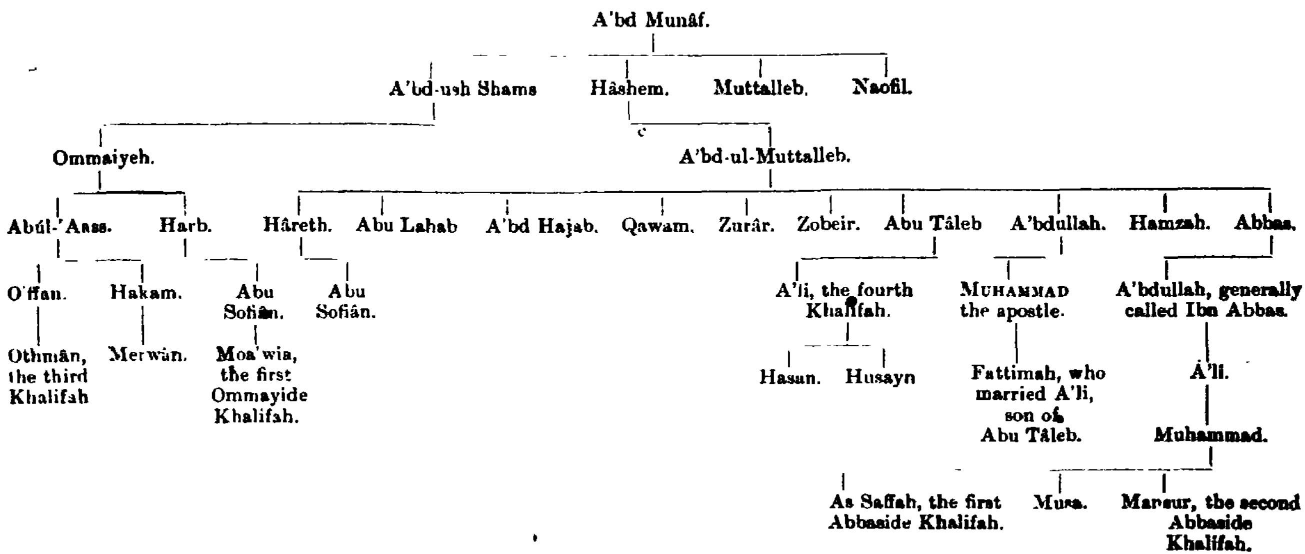
As these are lunar months, the Muhammadan year contains 354 days, 9 hours only, and their Naw Roz, or New Year's Day, falls every year about eleven days earlier than the preceding one.

As compared with our fixed months, the Muhammadan ones are always changing, so that the date of the Ramadzan or fasting month would be different every year of the Hijrah, which began July 16, A.D. 622. One hundred lunar years are very nearly equal to ninety-seven solar years, but for further particulars see Hughes's 'Dictionary of Islam' (W. H. Allen and Co., London, 1885).

APPENDIX C.

A GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF MUHAMMAD THE APOSTLE,

BEGINNING WITH HIS ANCESTOR, A'BD MUNÂF, WHOSE ANCESTORS ARE GIVEN AT PAGE 19 OF THIS WORK.



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The first volume ends at page 400, and the second volume begins at page 401.
Throughout this Index M. represents Muhammad, the Apostle.

L.

M.

THE END.